PUBLICITY MOVEMENT

This hundred-million nation has been urging from the very start of the Pak-India 17-day War of 1965 for the intensive publicity regarding telling the truth about Kashmir dispute both at home and abroad. Not only that but for production of publicity material in all the important languages, stress has also been laid.

In this 3,500-page book of seven volumes containing no less than 21,000 references we have laid special stress on this point.

Our view is that the publicity work can best be done through placing the books in the libraries of all the world. How this can be done, can easily be thought out, *i.e.*, by advertising the names of the books or informing the librarians by the respective ambassadors. The librarians, automatically would get in touch with the publishers in Pakistan.

So far Pakistan is concerned, the best course is to start the village libraries. This can best be done through starting a movement of enquiring from the villagers whether or not they have any well in their village. On their giving reply in the affirmative, they may be asked that, well for water is alright, but where is the well for knowledge. They would have no reply to give. Then they should be told that library is the well for knowledge and a village

that does not possess a library should consider that it is without a well for water.

This would convince the villagers about the importance of village libraries and as every village has village funds, the Government shall not be required to spend any extra funds for it, This would mean, we will have about one lac village libraries in no time,

The owners of the banks, insurance companies, industries and all commercial concerns have plenty of funds and it should be their duty to have a library where ever ten or more persons work. This should be considered a necessity.

If we can increase the number of libraries by two lacs it means daily increase of at least six lacs in publication of our newspapers and if every library purchases books worth Rs two hundred only it means sale of books of rupees four crore every year. This will make all the people not only insurance and bank minded but business minded also. This would make the nation rise as one man whenever called for it.

It may be worked out how many millions of labourers would be absorbed if this scheme succeeds and how much the standard of life of the people would be raised. None would be loser in this game. The villagers whose common fund money remains locked for years and years, would go into circulation to their advantage. They

would get authentic information and would improve in every line. If they will have to take 100 years to achieve a certain standard of life, they will achieve in ten years.

The efficiency of the working staff of the banks, the insurance companies and industries, etc., would increase and what they now do in ten hours, will be able to do in six hours.

The money spent on the opening of libraries would not go to waste. Is it not very surprising that a bank like National Bank of Pakistan, having 500 branches all over the world should not have even one good library. Why it should not have 505 libraries, i.e . one for every branch and five for its local office, i.e., one for every floor of its office at Karachi. Can its branches and various floors go on without water and laterine arrangements. No, these cannot. It is only a question of realisation. The fact is that arrangements for the procurement of knowledge are actually more important than those for water and laterines It is no use producing a child who perforce has to be kept dumb and deaf. Without providing facility for library to your employees, you actually keep them perforce under-developed In fact it will pay to all, to allow the workers wherever they be one hour daily for study of library books. It will no doubt decrease the working hours by one hour, but will increase the efficiency ten times. It is

no good to say that so many crores of rupees profit has been earned if the necessity of life of the workers is not met.

Library is a necessity of life. We have given example of the National Bank of Pakistan, but we mean all the banks, the insurance companies and commercial concerns. This would increase the standard of knowledge of the staff and it would increase their efficiency, and this, therefore, will not be unpaying concern. If the scheme succeeds, will it not be possible to have 5,000 branches of National Bank instead of 500 as it has to-day.

Why every tourist out of 75,000 coming in a year should not have this book? It is because...

Roots of the Basic Democracies which are very shallow at present will go deep into the soil with these libraries and no one would be able to uproot those even when the originator of those would not be there to look after them. The presence of the Basic Democracies is as essential as any other thing can there be for the defence of the country but the fear there is that as a plant dries without water, these would die without libraries. These are now in existence with the protection of the Government, but if the libraries would be there, they will remain for ever because the people would keep those there. This is the difference.

In U. S. A. there are no less than 20,000 libraries. Can we think that there will remain any library to the notice of which this publication of Pak-India War will be brought and it will not purchase? If 20,000 libraries of U. S. A. will not purchase this book it will be merelv due to our not making those know about this publication. It will be loss of no less than 70,000 pounds sterling of foreign exchange to our country for not sending it to U. S. A. This loss is for one country and one book, for all the countries of the world and for all the books may be calculated. This is not dream It can actually be tried and seen. Even in Pakistan like country where the people are not fond of reading, every library is asking for it. Crores of rupees as foreign exchange can be earned in this way.

This scheme can immediately be taken up because no extra funds from the Government are required to launch it. What is needed is only to give a moral suppo.ɪt to this movement by the official machinery of the Government.

Our this scheme is not only for Pakistan. It is for all the countries of the world and particularly for those countries which fall in the list of under-develeped countries. It is this scheme which will destroy all the subversive movements, be those through CIA or any other source. Ignorance makes those movements flourish and these libraries remove the ignorance.

If to all the libraries of the world our books are sent, will there remain any complaint that world opinion about Kashmir and other things about Pakistan has not been properly aroused. This is the only effective way to arouse the world opinion about what we want. This is the biggest defence weapon we can have. Will any one succeed in misleading our people at home and the 340 crore people abroad if we will have a net work of libraries?

Considering it necessary for the defence of the country we have launched this movement. The idea of starting of libraries in the Basic Democracis and sending of labourers to West Germany was given out by us in September 1962 in our publication "Guidance In All Matters" but that of labourers was taken up in July 1965, i.e., three years after it was given out whereas that of libraries remains there where it was. 80,000 labourers in three years would have earned not only Rs. 12 crore foreign exchange but all the 80,000 labourers would have become technicians also. It may be taken the value of this idea. Canada, where Pakistanis are only a few in number, is going to provide another outlet for our men by relaxing curbs on immigration from the developing countries. Pakistan should take advantage of this chance. Two authors of this book are in Canada and their opinion is that publicity in Canada in war days was only nominal.

Similary the idea of publicity movement is worth billions of rupees and the sooner it is taken up the better it will be. To keep any person deprived of water means to kill him indirectly and to keep a person deprived of library facility means to let a person not have chances to develop his mental faculties and thus to kill him mentally for ever.

Those who have doubt in their minds about the usefulness of the libraries can verify from the Agricultural Department of the then Punjab and the Imperial Agricultural Institute, New Delhi, whether or not the senior author of this book, while in subordinate post (1935), got the 40 pages of book on statistics written by Doctor Shaw, the then Imperial Botanist and Head of the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, with the help of Mr. Widdya Nathen, the then Imperial Statistician, Mr. Mahalanobis, the then world fame statistician of India, working at Calcutta and Mr. Bose, the well known statistician of the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, removed on the plea that the serial experiments had been wrongly interpreted. They had to replace those 40 pages with the corrected ones. What enabled Mr. Nekalam contradict the interpretation made by the world authorities in a book already printed and distributed throughout the world? It was nothing else, but, the help of Punjab Agricultural College Library, from where he

made use of books and improved his knowledge to the extent to challenge the world authorities.

What made him solve the centuries' old world problem of spacing experiments in crops by ensuring the germination of seeds in case of all crops and particularly in case of cotton crop (1932), nothing else but study of library books.

What made him supersede his about 200 seniors, out of whom many had foreign qualifications, nothing else but his improving of standard of efficiency with the help of library books.

What we mean is that the efficiency of the workers would increase tremendously if the libraries would be set up at all places where there are men to make use of those The increase in their efficiency would surpass all what would be spent in terms of money and time.

Why to go far off, it is only a matter of 1962 when under the Export Benevolent Scheme, we repatriated no less than 30,000 pounds sterling from U. K. as export proceeds of the book "Guidance In All Matters". It was done before the scheme of 30 per cent bonus for our men working in U K. had been introduced by the Government. The introduction of this scheme was the result of a thorough study of the books from the libraries and nothing else. One can earn legally far more than he does with illegal means, provi-

ded one cares to have proper knowledge. This can only be done with the help of libraries. You can decrease crimes even. The main reason for the low efficiency in offices all the world over is that neither there are library facilities in the offices nor the office hands are accustomed to study.

Self-sufficiency in food cannot be obtained till irrigation water is provided to the cultivator to irrigate his crops, similarly rise in the Talent of the Nations and complete cessation of wars cannot be obtained till the people are provided with library facilities to improve their knowledge. The sooner all the nations of the world would realise the importance of this point the better it would be. This would remove dearth of capable persons and would leave no room for the war-mongers and peace-disturbers.

There is a very strong negative correlation between publicity and corruption and if action is taken on the suggestion made by us in 1962 in our book "Guidance In All Matters'i" corruption would end from the whole of the world within a year. Corruption is the worst enemy of defence of the country and all efforts in the past have failed to end it. It is still not too late to go in for our suggestion.

If corruption be named proton, publicity will be anti-proton and when both put together, there will be a blast and corruption being destructible, would get vanished whereas publicity

being indestructible would go on. This is how corruption would come to an end without employment of any extra staff or spending of money. The greater the secrecy the corrupt hand will try to have the bigger the blast will be and the sooner and more completely the corruption will get stamped out.

We hope that the banks, the insurance companies, the industrialists and the big commercial concerns like airlines, will give a lead in this line by immediately opening libraries in their all branches as well as Head Offices; and the Governments will lose no time in opening libraries in the villages, Union councils, co-operative socities, schools, colleges and offices.

It will tremendously help this movement if the Government and the big concerns would give liberally advertisements for all the books written for creative purposes. It will help the authors in cost of production. At present their attitude is quite indifferent. It appears none is interested in this line although it is this line which can keep the wars off and help in the preservation of freedom of the country.

The basic theme of this book is that what is contained in the paragraphs given on the cover pages of this book, i.e., no sane person wants war and it is only the insane and incensed persons who go in for war; and world opinion must

be aroused to have peace. It is, therefore, necessary that this book should be read by all the literate persons and it is their duty to pass on the same to their uneducated brethren. The Head Offices should, therefore, send this book to all the sub-offices so that every one in the offices can read it. We can have permanent peace only then and the Peace Mission of our President, the Saviour of Pakistan, thus can be made successful. As he says, peace is what the world wants and not war. This is the book for which every house in the world must become a library and it is only then that the war-mongers will not be able to disturb the world peace and we will have permanent peace in this world—rationed once in life. He who dies gets never this world again. Therefore, to make best use of it, widest possible publicity should be given to what is contained in this book. It is only in this way that ignorance, which is another name for war of arms, can be removed and wars can be ended.

These are the days of inventions and the countries which will not utilise the brains of their people would lose in the long run as India has lost the game today.

We have the pleasure in founding this movement by giving donation of 500 copies of Volume I to the Director of Information and Publicity (as directed by him we would the give

to his assistant in the business section before 25th December, 1965) Government of Pakistan, for exclusively sending abroad and seeing that no country, including India, remains in the world where this book does not reach. Every Head, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Home Minister of every country must get it.

We will ourselves distribute another lot of 500 copies in Pakistan as complimentary copies. This will be repeated in case of all the seven volumes and their Urdu and Bengali translations, i.e., the value of the whole donation project will be Rs. 210,000.00. This will be our humble contribution.

We found and give start to this movement with the prayer that efforts at all the stages be made to remove ignorance and that the war of arms be replaced with the war of publicity throughout the world because war comes in only where there is ignorance.

We request the 350 crore people of the world to co-operate with us in making this noble movement succeed.

Founders of movement,
AUTHORS.

INTRODUCTION

The object of writing this book is to collect the detailed data about the present war and its causes scattered hither and thither in the Newspapers and elsewhere and put it in one place so that the present generation when free can look into it more seriously and analyse it and see where and what wrong had been done and what had led the two countries to war and the coming generations by looking into this well preserved data in the books would be able to seek guidance and pave their own way. This book will prove as a guide line to all.

The collection of this data in one place in the form of a book and presenting it in its original form to the 350 crore people of the world at this time is particularly need of the hour because of a massive diplomatic and propaganda offensive launched by the Indian Government to convert the world to India's view point on Kashmir. Indian politicians and journalists are being drafted into the massive propaganda drive in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, because India which stands diplomatically isolated in the world even still has misunderstanding that the Afro-Asian and the Neutralist world has not understood India's

case against Pakistan and it fears that she is still in a minority in the United Nations General Assembly to which it seems likely the Kashmir case will be referred where she will have another defeat as she had both in the battlefield and in the diplomatic field in this war in these days.

The facts are already there and the only thing needs to be done is to make those facts reach the 350 crore people of the world and this can best be done by putting these facts in the form of a book in their original form and let the readers have their own conclusions arrived at and see for themselves where the wrong lies. Therefore, we have added no information to what already exists and no effort has been made to write that thing for which we have no written proof and it has not been tried to thrust conclusions on the readers. Another apology for writing this book is that uptil now the world had had war information through the official and newspapers source, it will be worthwhile and helpful to change the taste of the readers by giving information through another source, i.e., in the form of a book.

The battlefield in these days of war, is just like a scientific laboratory, the only difference is that in case of scientific laboratory that raw material is used which is produced by the men whereas in the battlefield laboratory not only their produced products are used but they

themselves are also used just as other goods are used as raw material. The experiment is made at the cost of the lives of the men. They have to go to the battlefield with the idea in mind that they have to make the capital sacrifice for this experiment. This costly experiment which needs blood and lives of men in addition to arms and material worth billions of rupees which has to come by keeping the whole population hungry and naked, cannot be repeated every day, and whenever it has to be performed, it has to be performed under force. Out of the two fighting parties, one is always in the wrong and one is always aggressor and the other is aggressed. The aggressor thrusts war on the aggressed who, howsoever docile he may be, has to accept the challenge. He may lose or win.

The fault lies with the aggressor, but in this mortal world, there is hardly any person who himself or any country which would come forward and say that it was his or her fault and, therefore, it is for the other people to find out as to who is the aggressor. It becomes, therefore, more necessary to give the actual data, as is the case in scientific experiments because it is only then, that there can be some hope of avoiding of future conflicts and future wars. If no data is given and simply it is said that 'A' was the victor and 'B' was the defeated party, because A had more resources and was more powerful, this would perpetuate the ill will

and it would only mean that as and when B would have sufficient strength, which he may have his own or he may gather that with the help of his friends, he will strike A, he may win or he may lose. If this course is followed this unfortunate experiment will never end, because the war in that case will depend on the strength of the parties and whenever there will be sufficient strength, war will come in.

The instances to prove this version are not rare, and the past history of the world is full of such like bloody wars. No wise person would like this course.

Wise is he, who even after having a war with his opponent, would sit down and analyse the whole situation calmly and see what led him to go to war and cause so much loss of money and life to his own country men and to that of his opponent. Every man has got conscience and brain and it can't be admitted that out of 55 crore people of this sub-continent there will be none who will come to the right conclusion. Truth being an elusive and not wholly objective reality, every historian has to face the ever-present danger of alternating between the two extremes of either fitting facts into a pre-conceived theory which is most unscientific like or just giving a chronical of events and shying away from the complex of economic, social, and psychological forces and

impulsions that give to facts and events an inner meaning and logic and this is the course we have adopted.

What is the root cause of this war? Kashmir dispute is the root cause of this war as is known to the whole world. Our next question is, it is not necessary that Kashmir dispute should have instigated the Indians to attack Pakistan, or that dispute should have given incentive to the Indians to wage a war; then what made them to wage a war against Pakistan.

What we have seen from what drama has been being played before our eyes for the last 18 years, is, that the real cause lies somewhere else. The base of present conflict is not Kashmir. It is Pakistan, never, the non-Muslim India had reconciled herself to be divided. The non-Muslim leaders have never ceased to consider Pakistan more than a temporary structure built by the ambition of a few persons. The non-Muslim India which has never admitted the division of India is growing every day, and consequences of this wrong conception will be incalculable. The world is not only threatened to become the spectator of the Pak-India tragedy but the whole of Asia.

When partition took place in 1947 it was not that the then non-Muslim Indian leaders accepted the partition because they would

tolerate the existence of this sub-continent in two independent parts; it was only a temporary partition in their thinking because according to their scholars, Pakistan was to collapse economically within five years after partition. This was not only in their mind, but it was given out in the then Daily Tribune by as eminent an economic scholar as Mr. Brij Narain with figures and facts which he had collected from the past record of these provinces of West Pakistan. He was an admitted economic authority of that time. Although his this version was contradicted at that time by one of the authors of this book, but the non-Muslim leaders who knew us very well as non-business minded could not admit for a minute that creation of Pakistan was ever a practical proposition

Let the matter be whatever it is, the simple question now is, are the Indian leaders going to admit this fact that Pakistan has come into being and it has to stay? As long as not only they themselves will admit this natural phenomena but they will also inculcate this spirit in the minds of their children, they will always be in trouble. Pakistan is asking them for giving the Kashmiris their right of self-determination and what they are doing is to even undo Pakistan itself. This is the problem for the peace makers and the correct solution of this problem is to make the Indians reconcile and change their mind.

This might have been in their mind, but even this could not have put stamina in them to wage a war against Pakistan. China gave them defeat in 1962 and what our findings are, that nation-wise crushing and humiliating defeat was the cause of war-Neurosis for the whole nation. They had hardly recovered from that war-weary when came the defeat of Rann Kutch, and not from a big and powerful country like China, but it was at the hands of Pakistan-a country one fifth of India. This defeat humiliated them and particularly their forces in the eyes of the world. It was for this reason that in those very days, it was said in the Indian Parliament by Mr. L. B. Shastri, the Prime Minister of India and his Defence Minister Mr. Chawan, that Rann Kutch battle field had not suited them and they would select a battle field of their own choice and would make a thrust and demonstrate their military power.

Rann Kutch battle took place in April 1965 and they started preparations of war and attack on Lahore in May 1965 and the Rann Kutch compromise made by the Prime Minister of India was not endorsed fully by the Parliament and the public of India. This made the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and the C-in-C of the Indian Army to hunt out a place and time of their own choice to teach lesson to Pakistani leaders and the army of Pakistan. This small

scale demonstration was given by them in the form of capturing of three Pakistani posts and this is what was said by Mr. Chawan, the Defence Minister, in the Parliament that demonstration had been given, and they would go ahead and this was applauded by the house.

Their this small scale victory led them to believe that conquering of Lahore, was a matter of hours for their army, and this their programme dates back to May 1965. They wanted to take revenge of Rann Kutch. Their mind has never accepted that there was any difference between Junagadh, Hyderabad, Goa and Pakistan so far military attack is concerned.

Leaving the reader here, we now say, what has happened, has happened, and both sides have seen that might is not right, but right is might. Coming to the Kashmir question, again, we say, are the Indian leaders and the Indian public going to take it for granted for ever that Pakistan can't be undone and if Pakistan cannot be undone then what was the underlying principle which made India, part with this piece of land ? On what basis Pakistan came into offing ?

Our next question is to whom this piece of land has gone ? To the foreigners ? Do we not belong to this sub-continent ? Where do the people of Nepal, Burma, Ceylone and Pakistan come from ? Do these all not come from the

same land from which the present non-Muslim Indians come? Then where lies the quarrel? Why this simple question should not be understood? Does this not mean that the non-Muslim Indians plea is that if the Muslims have to live in this sub-continent, they have to live under subjugation, otherwise they have to quit this sub-continent. And if on the basis of self-determination, you can part with population of no less than ten crores, where comes in the difficulty in case of a handful people (50 lakhs) of Kashmir? We were given Pak land, because we were Muslim, they ask for plebiscite because they are Muslim and they do not want to remain with you. India by her actions has trampled down the principles which would have given her credit in the eyes of the world. It is strange and paradoxical to see India at the United Nations and elsewhere in the world giving lessons about pacifism and neutrality while she herself has the good conscience of carnivorous countries. Then it will be pertinent not to believe that the Muslim countries, all the world over and particularly all the countries who believe in the principle of self-determination would not come to their help. People of all the countries are supporting the cause of the Kashmiris, and if Pakistan has supported, what wrong it has done? Then dozens of countries have fought and several are fighting for freedom, if Kashmiris are fighting what wrong they are

doing? We all and crores of other people got freedom only the other day, on the basis of this very principle. Then why it should not be conceded by the Indians and particularly when they had several times in the past promised for the same. To go on saying that Kashmir question is not negotiable, is no answer to the question. Every country whose yoke has to be thrown away, will say, like this.

If these two things i.e. the existence of Pakistan, and the giving of right of self-determination to the Kashmiris are not going to be accepted from the core of their hearts, the war can only be suppressed but cannot be ended. These two points need to be understood by all the concerned hands.

The whole world cannot be wrong, and then Pakistan is not so big a country that all the countries of the world are saying that India is in the wrong just to please Pakistan. Which is the country in this world which is supporting cause of India in case of Kashmir dispute? There is none. The fact is that India has been in the wrong from the very beginning. If might has to be right, then only U. S. A., U. S. S. R., China and India have the right to live, all the remaining countries must absorb themselves in either of these four countries, or extinguish themselves. This is not what nature wants. India has three-fold population of that of U.S.A.,

twice of that of U S. S. R. but can it have war with them? No, not at all.

What was the position of U.K., in the last world war, when it sent out its all children and women to Canada? We remember the words of Her Hitler, what he said seven days before his fall. It was U.K., the Head of which daily used to bow down before God and pray that the allies be forgiven for their wrongs and be saved from the cruel hand, whereas against this Her Hitler one evening when one of the authors of this book was hearing, said :

"Now you weep before God, within a week, I will use such weapon, that U.K. will exist no more in this world and you will cry in the name of the whole universe, and I will not leave Britain".

The result of his this forceful and cruel speech was that all those who were listening to his speech at the radio, got terrorised and every one practically wept. But he forgot, that it is the Almighty God, who has the final power to do and undo; what happened then, the same thing with which he wanted to exterminate the Britains, he himself became the victim of that very weapon.

What we want to impress upon is that when India can tolerate the existence of 340 crores of people in this world, is it really difficult for it to

tolerate existence of only ten crores of Pakistanis? This point deserves serious consideration of the non-Muslim Indians.

Are the statements made by Mr. L.B. Shastri, and Mr. Chawan in the Parliament before the start of war not equivalent to the statement of Her Hitler and have they not met the same fate as Her Hitler met ?

If the Kashmiris, who are hardly 50 lacs, will get the right of self-determination, what harm will be done to you and to your country? Will the heavens fall? Will India become one of the smallest countries of the world? Is this bloody drama which has been shown to the whole world worth the game?

Is this not a fact that today India stands diplomatically isolated and is not only in grip of acute food crisis, communal riots, but also political crisis within the country? Can such a country afford to wage a war against its all the neighbours? Can this question be asked as to with which country your relations are cordial? Are your army as well as civil officers and soldiers contented? Is this not due to your expansionist policy? When India is already the second biggest country in the world, what else it wants? After every two months it gets babies equal to the population of Kashmir.

Comparison of the statements of the Indian leaders and those of the Pakistani leaders would bear out with what amount of responsibility those are made. No one can or should humiliate his neighbours.

Compare the press of India and Pakistan and see, how much self restraint is exercised and how much advice is given by the press.

Who led you to wage a war against Pakistan? Who are the war mongers and war-lords? Have they learnt a lesson from this war? To whom you have done wrong? To none else but to yourself and your coming generations. Is this not a fact that the Govt. of Pakistan and the public of Pakistan tried their utmost to avoid this war?

These sentences are not being written to injure the feelings of anyone. The object is to tell the truth on the face of the concerned hand so that that mistake is not repeated. Our conviction is, has the U.N. taken, half of the pains, now it is taking to restore peace in this sub-continent, in the early days of the trouble, this war could have easily been avoided. The only mistake has been not to tell the person at fault on his very face about his guilt. This fact kept the Indians in the dark. The big powers which are now making their best efforts to restore peace in this sub-continent, could have easily got Kashmir dispute settled in 1947 also.

Supposing, the question as it is, it can't be solved and India as it is today, cannot accede to the plebiscite demand, then should it mean that this problem be left to chance and the two countries be given free hand to decide it in the battle field. This would mean, that if a student in a school inspite of his best efforts fails to solve an arithmetic problem, he should break the slate instead of making further efforts for the solution. No wise person would advise the student to break the slate.

The U.N. and the big powers should now put themselves in the place of a teacher and put this sub-continent in the place of a student who has failed to solve this problem. The teacher knows what the correct answer is and similarly it is pertinent to say that U.N. and the big powers do not know the correct answer of this problem which has shaken the whole world peace.

Obviously the U.N. and the big powers are feeling shy to tell India on its face, its mistake in handling of this problem and if they have told, then the next question is, are the existing Indian rulers not capable enough to understand this problem even on pointing out their mistake to them. If this is the case, then their replacement, as is the case always in democratic governments, by new government is essential. This is what actually happened in case of British government in Case of Sueze canal crisis. Similarly

if existing government, although understands the problem and realises that the only solution of this problem is to let the Kashmiris have their right of self-determination exercised, but unfortunately the Indian public is not prepared to hear from them such type of solution and the existing government is not strong enough to face the public, in this case also for honest persons, the best course is to resign and give chance to a new party to form the government and solve this problem.

As long as the existing government is in power in India it will try to linger on like a T.B. patient and wait for death when it may come, whether it comes through internal political and economical collapse or some outsider may come and force them to collapse as it happened in case of Her Hitler.

The big powers and the U.N. owe duty to the world and they should not ask the Indians and the Pakistanis to break the siate. They should, on the other hand, realise that Mr. L. B. Shastri is too weak to tell his countrymen, howsoever meak and honest he may be, that the real solution of this problem is to give plebiscite right to the Kashmiris, and the big powers should try to find solution of this problem through his replacement instead of having discussions every day on the same issue.

These lengthy and technical discussions would lead us nowhere, as long as, efforts will not be made from the core of heart by the big powers and the U.N. who now stand in the place of a teacher. This problem may or may not be solved, but, there should remain no ambiguity about it that the solution of this problem which is giving of right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir, is well known to the Indians, the big powers, the U.N. and the 350 crore people of the world. To side track this important issue and put it in the cold storage would tantamount to insulting the 350 crore people of this world which is now on its way to moon, what a shameful affair.

In this book we have given the detailed data which will help the readers in the other continents also to come to the conclusion that in this world such times come when 45 crore people who cannot tolerate to slaughter even a cow can afford to see the innocent people being murdered in the battle fields and the villages. Their conscience does not prick them.

We have started the collection of data from the 14th of August 1965 when the Field Marshal Mohd. Ayub Khan, and Mr. L. B. Shastri made public speeches. We have narrated the facts as reported in the newspapers, side by side so that, it may be easy for the reader to ascertain the

truth and come to his own and the correct conclusion.

This war material will be written in five volumes and our honest effort is to help the residents of both the countries to take a lesson from this war and live in future like good neighbours, and giving right of self-determination to the Kashmiris.

We pray that our posterity may live in peace like good neighbours. Quite a large number of scientists of India is known to us and we are known to them, because for a number of years we have worked together in the scientific field, and we earnestly request them to go deep into the matter and study the problem as we used to study in the scientific discussions and if they come to our conclusion, they should tell their war-lords to take pity on the world as a whole and this sub-continent in particular. We cannot admit even for a moment, that the people of the calibre of S.B. Labh Singh, S.B. Lalsingh, R.B. Ch. Ramdhun Singh, S.B. Jagat Singh, R. B. Jaichand, P.D. Lalchand, S. Harbans Singh, and Ch. Hans Raj Saini would not come to this conclusion after seeing the data we have given in this book.

Is this not a fact that it is, we, who stood first in the world competition amongst 40 countries in the competition of invention of agricultural implement and we bet all the European

competitors. Is this not a fact that European scientists of that time working in India were no match for us. Did we not get 40 pages of the book on Statistics written by Dr. Shaw the then Imperial Agriculturist of India removed after it had been printed and sent to the foreign countries also because those were wrong.

Are we not the persons who contradicted the world known theory of field experimentation of Dr. Fisher, the world fame statistician of Europe. Are we not the persons who evolved varieties of cotton like L.S.S. and wheat like C 591 and fruits of excellent qualities.

What we mean is, that our brains are, in no way inferior to those of our masters who instead of solving our problem are making it more and more complicated every day. Can we afford to let this thing pass down to our posterity that we had no brains and we begged the outside world to solve our problems.

Why the heads of our two countries should not be able to solve this simple problem, is a question our brain fails to understand. Chair of S. Swarn Singh who came into power through back door even at that time and in India also his position or position of Mr. Chhagla is practically those of the camp followers. They are show boys and they are not in a position to tell their masters any thing what does not suit their

taste. Mr. Chawan is a war-lord, as is clear from his statements and position of Mr. Shastri is rather shaky. He thinks that it is good that 45 crores people are busy day and night in talking about Kashmir instead of looting the grain godowns, taking out anti-language processions, going in for communal riots and demanding creation of Punjabi Suba. His this policy is bad. How long he would be able to go on misleading the home people and the world. Already his foreign policy has resulted in political death of India. Today India stands as aggressor even in the eyes of a person of world known ability and a person of a world wide reputation and eminent peace maker like Lord B. Russel.

A careful study of the chronology of the events from 14th August to 5th September 1965 and mathematical analysis of the stock exchange figures as given in the book would show that in Pakistan upto 5th of September, there was hardly any person who knew what was going to happen on the 6th and whether there was any war fever. Against this India had already shown signs of war. This shows that the Indian warlords in the persons of Mr. Chaudhry, the C-in-C of the Indian army, Mr. L.B. Shastri, the Prime Minister, Mr. Chawan, the Defence Minister and S. Swarn Singh the Foreign Minister, as later on has been proved from the diary of a Major General, were busy in moving the army towards

West Pakistan for capturing of Lahore since May 1965.

The fact is that it is these gentlemen who have put 55 crore people and their coming generations not only to mental humiliation in the eyes of the world, who say on their back that the fools are at war and even inspite of making them understand are incapable of understanding the real position, inspite of loss of life, property and money too which are so badly needed in the under-developed countries like ours. It is these gentlemen who, simply to keep their chairs intact go on saying that Kashmir question is not negotiable because it is integral part of India with the result that the war-factories of the world keep going day and night to supply material to our both the countries. They are the servants of the war material suppliers and the freedom which our leaders won for us so dearly and got us rid of political slavery, they have changed it with financial slavery. Today 55 crore people of this sub-continent stand as debtors in the eyes of the world due to wrong policy of these half a dozen gentlemen.

The fact remains that they are the war criminals in the eyes of the 55 crore people and our coming generations. It is a different matter whether or not action can be taken against them. This is another well settled scientific

point about which there is no ambiguity whatsoever.

Do the Indians realise as to what would have been the position of Pakistanis, if Lahore would have been captured on the 6th of Sept. 1965. Their position would have been the same as of the Indians would have been, had Delhi been captured by Pakistan.

When statement of advance towards Lahore was made in Parliament by Mr. L. B. Shastri and Mr. Chawan that within 24 hours they would be able to give good news and this made the members of the Parliament applaud and they all applauded this news. Our question is, is this like grown up and elderly people. It was a matter, which would have put them to deep thinking and tell the Prime Minister to put restraint and not to capture Lahore because it was not part of India. They were happy because they did not understand the consequences of it and it meant they considered war a mere picnic.

Mr. Chaudhry, the C-in-C of the Indian army told his officers to have a 'Chhota' peg with him at Lahore on the 6th. Is it becoming of so big a person as C-in-C of the Indian army to say like this or to have such like evil intention.

What we are trying to arrive at is that the responsible people of India should in their own interest, give proper education to their people

who should understand how to live with the neighbours.

How honestly the President of U. S. A., the Prime Ministers of U. K. & Canada, the Head of the U.S.S.R. and other countries like Turkey, Australia, Palestine, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Indonesia, Japan, China, Brazil, West Germany, Afghanistan, Ceylone, Saudi Arabia, France, Koyat and Egypt, in fact all the Afro-Asian and European countries, have tried their utmost to make both the countries end hostilities and what response has been given by India, is well known to the world.

This shows that there is need for educating the public and the rulers to realise the importance of giving heed to what is said by the Nations of the world. U. N. has done a great deal and is doing still but its success depends upon the co-operation of both the countries. We pray that U.N. may succeed because it is a test for its survival. How much world press has played part in advising both the countries for peace would be seen from the reports given in the book. The service of the press of the whole world is commendable, but just seriously it be looked into and seen as to how much heed has been paid to their advice by the Indian war-lords.

However, whatever has happened, has happened, for the good of the people because, the Pakistanis who were out-numbered by the

Indians in every thing, always feared and did not like to face India on the battle field. Their this fear and shyness has been removed in the battle fields of Lahore, Sialkot and Khemkaran sectors. We the Muslims have forgotten the battle of Badr where only 313 Mujahids defeated thousand and that historical event has been proved in the battles of Lahore, Sialkot and Khemkaran. What the Indians had in their mind that they could capture Lahore in no time and undo Pakistan within a week or so has been falsified. This has removed blinkers from their eyes and once again it has been proved that right is might and not might is right.

This should give satisfaction to both. Pakistanis should feel more grateful, because before this war their country was not so well known to the outside world. Most of the people took Pakistan as part of India. This war has brought to the notice of every living person of the world that Pakistan is not India and it is a country which has the finest army of the world and that army can meet the army which may be even five times of it in every respect. This war has done the greatest good to Pakistan in making the whole nation emerge as united. This lesson Pakistan could not have got otherwise This lesson, India has given it at its own cost of loss of 140 aeroplanes, 534 tanks in addition to loss of lives of over 7000 army men and loss of war

material worth hundreds of crores of rupees, and parting with over 1600 sq. miles area of its own territory.

Indians also must feel grateful to God that they have not been put to a bigger loss than this. As the data given in this book shows, consequences would not have been very happy if the war would have continued. This is a loss of 17 days, and it would have gone on increasing as the time would have passed and if this conflict would have engulfed the whole world, India would have been the battle field of the 3rd world war, the consequences of which can be well-judged. Therefore to repeat this experiment will not be a wise action and it will be even now not too late to learn how both the countries should live like good neighbours.

If India and Pakistan have been able to make Britains quit their countries on which the Britains had 100-year hold, how the Kashmiris would not be able to make Indians quit Kashmir who have hardly 18-year hold and particularly when the Indians are not so much advanced as the Britains are. Putting Sheri-Kashmir, Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah and his colleagues in the jail would shorten the journey as the Indians have seen in their own case. Freedom fighters do not fear jails and bullets. It is strange that Indians who only the other day themselves were fighting for freedom, are today refusing the same right

to Kashmir. This point alone should be sufficient to serve as a guide line to the Indians to give right of self-determination to the Kashmiris.

Our remaining four volumes will deal with the war operations, cease-fire, what happened after cease-fire and eye witness account of the battle fields. These will also be published soon.

Out of the authors of this book four are in the foreign countries and their view is that Pakistan war propaganda has not been up to the mark in the foreign countries. In Canada where the number of Indians is far much more than of the Pakistanis, there were days when it had been told to the public that Lahore had been captured and Sialkot and Karachi had been vacated.

In fact this book which contains detailed information should be sent abroad in large number for as much circulation as possible. And particularly at this time when the world wide diplomatic and propaganda drive by drafting politicians and journalists into the massive propaganda campaign in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America has been launched by India. The people all the world must know the real facts and this money spent will not go to waste. There is no doubt that our foreign policy has won laurels and we have emerged as victor on every front but that does not mean that this valuable chance should not be made use of.

This is the time when the people are war-minded and want to know the factual position of Pak-India war, this book should reach every important library of all the countries of the world. In our own country it should be placed in every library and in every reading-room. Its Urdu and Bengali translations would also follow.

The whole of the war publicity material is given in these books in detail and these should be in the hands of readers as early as possible, omission in this respect would create a lacuna which we will never be able to fill in.

It is in the interest of both India and Pakistan to make public know the real facts and educate them to pass peaceful life. The war mongers succeed in making the countries wage war because their propaganda is more than of those who want peace. If this book is read by every Indian and every Pakistani and is kept in the libraries for the young hands to read at leisure, we are dead sure that firstly the Kashmir question will be solved and secondly this sub-continent will never have second war. India has gone in for massive propaganda all the world over just after the cease-fire because it fears that she is still in a minority in the United General Assembly to which it seems likely the Kashmir dispute will be referred.

The war mongers are very few in number but they are very active and against this the number of those who want peace in the world is very very large but they are passive. One war monger can easily deceive one thousand peace makers. This is what has kept the Indian masses in the dark and has kept the world opinion indifferent to the Kashmir question. Sending of posters and newspapers for publicity only will not serve the purpose. The Indian war-lords once again will be able to mislead the 350 crore people if the factual position will not be brought to the notice of the people in every walk of life. They should not be allowed to deceive even Indian masses also.

India today stands isolated in the comity of nations and this is the maximum moral punishment which can be given to an individual in his own sphere by his colleagues and to a nation by other nations of the world. This conflict has shown the extraordinary diplomatic isolation of India—earstwhile chief of the third world—with whom not one country has taken side. India today is morally dead and the only way for it to survive again is to abandon its expansionist policy and live a peaceful life with its neighbours giving right of self-determination to the 18-year worried Kashmiris.

The acid tests of the Pak-India war battle fields have proved without doubt that the

Pakistan army is the best army of the world and it can safely be depended upon to save the country even against heavy odds. Pakistan army has raised the prestige of Pakistan in the eyes of the world for which our posterity can easily be proud of.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah was the founder of Pakistan and this Pak-India war of 1965 has proved beyond doubt that Field Marshal Mohd. Ayub Khan is the saviour of Pakistan. His name would go deep down in the history and our posterity will always be proud of him. He has raised the prestige of Pakistan in the eyes of the world and the nation is justified in being proud of him. His statesmanship has been proved beyond doubt.

This is the end of the first part of the book and leaving the readers to read the speeches of the various leaders of Pakistan and India and study the various events which took place during this short period, we will march on to the second part of the book in which we will tell the reader how battle was fought by our warriors on the various fronts—Lahore, Sialkot, Chhamb, Khemkaran and Rajasthan, not only that we will also tell him how the 10 crore Pakistanis fought as one man and how every one of them in every field of life did his best to make the army win this war which was thrusted upon us by India, and how bravely the people of Lahore and Sialkot

stood the test of barbarous on slaught when the enemy intended to remove the name of Pakistan from the map of the world and thus added a golden chapter to the history of world. A book on history would have seldom been written by a scientist and this will, we believe, add another charm to this literary work, because, as scientists we have changed the pattern of writing the history altogether and we are sure that this will open another avenue of approach to the historical problems. Our conviction is that narrating of actual facts in the history is very essential and fitting of facts to the pre-conceived theory is an act of criminousness and this is what India is doing in case of Kashmir. We feel that the method of writing of books on history in the past has been defective and in that way the reader is apt to be misled, whereas in this way the reader is left free to have his own conclusion based on the actual data collected from the scientific laboratory of the battle field. When the world is fighting for freedom in every line, we should not make the reader conclusion bound slave of historical works. It is the result of that defective method of presentation of the subject matter which keeps the masses in dark of the real facts and gives chances to the war-lords to drag the countries to the war. We feel that the writers of such like works are more responsible for the waging of wars and ultimate destruction of the world than all the armies of the world put

together, because it is the writers who change the concepts of the masses and drag them to the points like the commanders of the armies. It is for this reason that we have changed the pattern. One reason for the defeat of the Indian army was the defective information policy of the Indian government. It is of no use to keep the people in dark about the real facts and tell them concocted stories about the ungained victories. This is what India did in this war of 20th century and it met thus its political death through getting diplomatically isolated in the comity of Nations, and it got defeated on the battle field.

Is this the first war in this world which could not be avoided because we the people of both the countries did not know as to what happens in war, how many people are made homeless, how many women are deprived of their charming lives through not returning of their beloved husbands back home, how many mothers, how many fathers, how many brothers get their lives doomed because of not coming back of their dear ones. Did we not know that France and Britain like countries after remaining continuously at war for a number of years have now settled down to calm life. There are numerous examples of this kind and we all know that even cases are not rare when the masses went against their war-minded rulers and preferred to get rid of those rulers rather

than to live a permanent war life. Are we not capable enough to take a lesson from experience of the past and from the wars fought by others.

We did not take a lesson from the wars fought by others is a hard fact. We have now actually fought ourselves and seen what war is and have experienced that war is not a picnic and it not only affects the war-lords, but actually the masses suffer and hence even if still we do not understand it will mean that God has not gifted us with that type and amount of intelligence which is required to understand this fact. If it is so, we are unfortunate but this is not the case.

Will the rulers of both the countries sit down calmly, look into whether or not they had taken as much pains as they are taking now to make our own masses and world abroad educated about the authentic facts of the root cause of the trouble and the consequences of war, if it would come.

This is why we have given the detailed data so that the readers may find for themselves how the Indian masses had been kept in the dark and how the Indian rulers right from the very beginning have been infusing militant spirit into the brains of the masses and that result has appeared in the creation of militant

classes like Jansangh and Hindu Mahasabha. Against this from the speeches of Pakistani leaders and specially of the Field Marshal Mohd. Ayub Khan, it will be seen that all of them had been throughout against having war with India or any other neighbour. The result of this has been that in Pakistan there is no militant class of the type of Jansangh and Hindu Mahasabha.

This is a hard fact that the Indian masses have not taken active part in this war. It can be proved from the donations made by the public both in India and Pakistan. It can be seen from the part played by the businessmen of both the countries.

It is a fact that the Civil population of Pakistan has kept abreast of the Armed Forces in sacrifices for the defence of the country against the wanton Indian aggression. Side by side with the skill and courage of our soldiers against the boastful Indian mercenaries, the Civil population rendered all possible help to the defence efforts and showed remarkable self denial in hour of crisis.

According to the figures given out in papers it appears that the people of Pakistan on population basis donated 200 times more than the people of India to the National Defence Fund.

Prime Minister Shastri's reported appeals for war subsidies to his people hardly fetched a crore of rupees against that of Pakistan about 50 crore rupees. The maximum donation made by the business Wizard—Seth Birla—was about rupees one lac whereas in Pakistan, the number of those who have donated each more than Rs. 20 lacs is in two digits. This proves Indian peoples reluctance to fatten Mr. Shastri's war fund to their disapproval of the Govt. policy towards Pakistan.

It has further been proved from the facts given in the book that the unique failures of the Indian Armed Forces and the cold response of the common man in India to the war cries of the Indian war-lords stern from the economic crisis and lack of confidence in the leadership which India is facing since the death of Mr. Nehru.

There remains no doubt that the only reason for waging a war against Pakistan has been the ruling Congress party's endeavour to win over public support and thus get the blessing of all the communal-*cum*-militant parties in India but their this scheme has utterly failed and it has rather turned against Congress government. But for this war, the Congress government would have been over-thrown since long as is evident from the anger and the anxiety shown

by the people against their rulers. Food shortage and death from starvation are bound to convert into a revolt. What is given in the book shows the pitiable condition of the masses in India and it speaks of the privation and misery of the common man which is clear-cut proof of the Indian defeat at the home front. Her defeat in the battle field and diplomatic field is more than well established.

Indian masses can no longer be deceived when they see themselves the continuous flow of food ships under the "American PL-480 agreements" to their country. When 80 percent of the population on land cannot organise its agricultural front to produce adequate surpluses to feed the 20 percent of the town dwellers, however dazzling the record of new dams power stations, factories and expansionist policy of taking over of Hyderabad, Goa, Junagadh, Kashmir may be, the masses of India cannot be deceived by the Indian war-lords, has been proved from this war beyond doubt. They want food and not arms, is the general cry in India and this is what has proved that this Pak-India war of 1965 was the result of defective thinking of a few mad men and not of the masses of India.

The prices of all the commodities as will be seen from this book remained normal in Pakistan whereas against this the businessmen of India looted the public through hoarding and

charging of abnormal prices. The same fact can be proved from the donations made for the blood in both the countries. When war was going on, food riots and communal riots were equally at their speed of normal times in India. Agitation for the Punjabi Suba was in its full swing. The masses of India knew that war was going on but they had no sympathy with the war mongers.

If we want to avoid bloody war in future, we shall have to be constantly at publicity war for all the times to come, both at home and abroad. Cost of publicity will not be equal to the cost of even one tank but it will keep away the war which will cost India alone no less than Rs. 60,00,00,00,000 and to Pakistan if not that much, at least a fraction of that.

Those who have to rule these both the countries and those who have to be ruled, must understand fully well as is proved from the data that if they will neglect the publicity campaign and will not give proper education to the masses of their own countries and will not keep the masses of the other countries well informed about the main problems of dispute, they will be compelled by circumstances to meet in the battle of tanks and jets on the various battle fields where it shall be difficult for them to keep the war going single handedly. This is why the importance of foreign publicity comes in. It

should not be forgotten—a hard lesson given by this war—that second name for lack of publicity both at home and abroad is making the nation march on to the battle field of tanks and jets. To avoid battle of tanks is to spend liberally on publicity during peace time. We wonder if this important point will be understood by those whom we want to understand. This is a lesson for all the nations of the world.

It will not be even now too late to see that each and every library of the whole world has complete data atleast about our all disputes and problems in the form of books, not in the form of government reports because this method puts discount on the authenticity value of the data as a matter of natural course, taking it as one-sided picture of the whole problem. This would save us from scurrying to all corners of the globe to seek support of our stand in the hour of need.

India today, as is clear from the contents of this book, is in flurried haste running to all corners of the globe in a futile bid to seek support on their immoral and unjust stand on Kashmir and this should prove an eye opener to all for making publicity in time and not when the dramatisation is over. This book, if carefully read will serve not only as an excellent reference book but it will serve as a best guide-book also

for the masses as well as the rulers of all the countries showing them what factors lead to war and how war can be avoided and what part has to be played in war days by different people, if war comes in.

From what has been given in the book is proved without ambiguity that one thing what has emerged very clear from the Pak-India war of 1965, i.e., 17-day war, was complete elimination of all our differences and suspicions and a sense of profound and total unity enveloped the whole nation which was a moment of great discovery for Pakistan because Pakistanis, uptil now, were fumbling about their identity, their aims and objectives, but this war of 17 days has proved significantly that in Pakistan, there is no difference between East and West, and there is no difference between refugee and non-refugee. It has shown to the world that Pakistan is one indignant nation which can stand like a rock and can frustrate the designs of the enemy and foil his objectives, matters little, howsoever treacherous his designs and objectives may be. Each and every section of the people irrespective of the language or profession is ready to meet the external threat when posed to the country's security and freedom.

This war has revealed the potential strength and character of the nation which had remained hidden so long.

When every one of us used his talent in a selfless manner and played a vital role in achieving unprecedented national values both on the battle front and home front it is not only imperative to preserve the values we have discovered in the form of a book but it is also important to make the whole world know these values through sending of books containing this material to each and every library of all the countries of the world including our own country. Without this, our victory will be only half the victory.

Resolution recently adopted at a mass rally at Lucknow on Oct. 2, 1965, demanding the reunion of India and Pakistan and asking Congress to fulfil its pledge to undo Pakistan should prove an eye opener for the Pakistanis. As reported by the "Hindustan Times" of Oct., 3, 1965, the S. S. P. leader Raj Narayan, who presided, said that "socialism could not be established, nor progress made in the sub-continent unless the partition was undone."

More tragic than this is the revelation that even the Congress leaders, who had apparently conceded to the partition principle, had secretly pledged with the Hindus that they would undo the partition at the appropriate time. This is confirmed by what the S.S.P. leader, Raj Narayan, read out from the Congress resolution adopted

on June 14, 1947 at Delhi which said: "While accepting partition with great regret (the Congress) had given the solemn undertaking that the Congress would always keep in its view its old vision of united India."

This obviously shows that the Indian leaders have not been honest in this deal and they have not been keeping the Pakistanis in the dark only but they have not been also faithful to even the masses of India. They have been saying, what they never intended to do.

This places still more responsibility on the shoulders of the Pakistan rulers to make this fact of Indian leaders' double deal over Pakistan known to the masses of not India alone but to the 350 crore population of the whole world. If Pakistan wants to get rid of future wars it has to go in for intensification of foreign publicity by placing the actual facts in the form of books in the libraries of all the world, no matter whatever the cost may come. We are faced with the enemy whose job is only to undo Pakistan and if Pakistan will not work vigilantly, it will have to always face wars. The only remedy, to check these wars is to educate not only the Indian masses but the residents of the whole world about the factual position of our all disputes. It is only then that the war-lords of India will not be able to deceive their own people and the people of the world and thrust wars on us.

They will meet their own death and this sub-continent will be saved from the war catastrophe. This would bring peace in this sub-continent and it will mean a great contribution towards the world peace. It is ignorance of facts which makes the people fight and if you want to keep away wars from your doors, remove the ignorance of all those who are likely to wage war against you and of those who are likely to help them or whose help you want to have in hours of need before war overtakes you.

Chronology of Major U. S. Efforts on Kashmir

Washington, Sept. 23: The following is a chronology of major United States efforts in seeking to promote and maintain peace between India and Pakistan in the context of Kashmir.

Jan. 19, 1948: U. S. supports a long series of U. N. resolutions aimed at solving differences between India and Pakistan (over Kashmir).

Jan. 20: The Council sets up three-member Commission on Kashmir. On April 21 the membership is increased to five and U. S. A. joins as member.

April 21: U.S.A. sponsors Security Council resolution with five others which provides for restoration of peace and order and for the holding of a plebiscite to determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir State. It expands membership of the U. N. Commission to five including U. S. A.

August 23: The U.N.C.I.P. presents for acceptance to India and Pakistan a three-point

resolution providing for cease-fire, a truce agreement and a reaffirmation by both countries that the future status of the State be determined by the will of the people.

Dec. 11, 1948: U.N.C.I.P. submits plebiscite proposals and urges both Governments to accept them in their entirety.

Jan. 1, 1949: The cease-fire comes into effect —the result of acceptance by India and Pakistan of certain of the U.N.C.I.P. proposals.

Jan. 5, 1949: The U.N.C.I.P. adopts a resolution setting forth principles to govern the plebiscite.

March 21: The Secretary-General nominates U. S. A's Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz to be U. N. Plebiscite Administrator.

July 27: Agreement is reached on the cease-fire line, which became effective on Jan 1.

August 31, 1949: President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee in messages to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, urge acceptance of the U.N.C.I.P. proposal that the two countries submit to arbitration their differences relating to the truce. The U.N.C.I.P. proposed Admiral Nimitz as the arbitrator and said his decisions were to be binding.

Dec. 17, 1949: The U.N.C.I.P. reports to the Security Council its failure to bring about a truce agreement and proceeds to the major objective of holding a plebiscite. The Security Council appointed its President, Canada's General A. G. L. McNaughton, to carry on consultations with both parties.

Feb. 3, 1950: General McNaughton reports his consultations were unsuccessful, but sets forth certain proposals for demilitarisation. (Failure due to Indian refusal.)

March 14: The U.N. Council adopts a resolution, again sponsored by U.S.A. and three other nations calling for preparation and execution of a demilitarisation programme and proposing the services of a U.N. representative who would take the place of the U.N.C.1.P.

April 12: Sir Owen Dixon of Australia is appointed U.N. representative.

Sept. 15: Sir Owen, in a report to the Security Council, reports failure of his mission.
(Again refusal to agree.)

Joint Resolution

March 30, 1951: The U.N. Council adopts a revised draft resolution jointly sponsored by U.S.A. and U.K. calling for a new U.N.

representative to effect demilitarisation on the basis of two U.N.C.I.P. resolutions which said both parties should accept arbitration on unresolved differences. The joint resolution also disapproved the Oct. 27, 1950 proposal adopted by the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in Indian-controlled Kashmir to convene a Constituent Assembly that would determine the future form of Government of the entire State and its affiliations.

April 30: Dr. Frank Graham, former U S. Senator from North Carolina, is appointed by the U.N. Council as the U.N. representative.

Between October, 1951 and March 1953, Dr. Graham submitted five reports to the Security Council. Despite his efforts he was unable to bring about agreement to effect demilitarisation.

(Again because of Indian refusals.)

Dec. 23, 1952: The Council adopts a resolution jointly sponsored by U.S. and U.K. urging India and Pakistan to enter into immediate negotiations, with Dr. Graham's assistance, to reach agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation.

March 27, 1953: Dr. Graham submits his fifth report to the Security Council saying since

his proposals were not acceptable to the two countries there was no ground at that stage on which to continue negotiations. (India insisted on keeping a huge army in Kashmir.)

Jan. 16, 1957: For the first time since Dec. 23, 1952, the U.N. Council resumes active consideration of the Kashmir dispute.

Jan. 24: The Council adopts a resolution jointly sponsored by the United States and four others, reminding all concerned of the principle embodied in previous resolutions calling for a free and impartial plebiscite under U.N. auspices as the means for a final disposition of Kashmir. The resolution also stated any action taken by the Kashmir 'Constituent Assembly' to determine the future of the entire State or any part thereof would not be in accord with the foregoing principle.

Feb. 20: A resolution sponsored by U. S. and three others calling for a visit to India and Pakistan by the Swedish Security Council President Gunnar Jarring is defeated in the Security Council by Russian Veto.

Pakistan had, in the meantime, entered into Mutual Defence Treaty with U. S. A. and the Baghdad Pact.

Revised Resolution

Feb. 21, 1957: A revised resolution sponsored by U.S.A. and two others providing for Mr. Jarring's visit to India and Pakistan under different terms of reference, is adopted by the Council. Mr. Jarrings report of April 29, 1957 contained no special recommendations.

Dec. 2: The Council adopts a resolution, introduced by U.S.A. and jointly sponsored by U.S. and four others calling on Dr. Graham as the U.N. representative, to make renewed efforts to achieve agreement between the two Governments.

March 28, 1958: Dr. Graham submits his report to the Council describing his discussions in New Delhi and Karachi and listing recommendations he made to India and Pakistan. There was no further U.N. action on Kashmir until 1962.

Jan. 5, 1962: President Kennedy in answer to a question at his Press conference, says "......on the matter of Kashmir we have been and are concerned that no accommodation or a solution be reached because both countries have numerous external and internal problems and we have been assisting both countries to build a more viable economy .....and we're going to continue our efforts".

Jan. 24, 1962: President Kennedy at his Press conference, in answer to a question on whether he had proposed that World Bank President Eugene R. Black lend his good offices to India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute, says "......I asked Mr. Black if he would undertake to see if a solution was possible in this most difficult and delicate problem...... peaceful relations between Pakistan and India are in the interests of world peace and the interests that we seek to promote. Mr. Black ......has generously consented, it was decided by the parties involved that he could be helpful to use his good offices, and I suggested that they could consider this matter".

June 22, 1962: A draft resolution submitted by Ireland and supported by U.S. and six others urging renewed negotiations on Kashmir, is vetoed in the Security Council.

Round of Talks

Nov. 29, 1962: India and Pakistan announced agreement to negotiate the Kashmir dispute.

(Following Indian attack on China and Indian reverses). The agreement to negotiate, signed separately by Prime Minister Nehru and President Ayub, was reached after a week of talks in New Delhi and Rawalpindi by Mr. W. Averell Harriman, the then U.S. Assistant Secretary of

State for Far Eastern Affairs, and Mr. Duncan Sandys, British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

In a joint communique, the Indian and Pakistani leaders agreed that "a renewed effort should be made to resolve the outstanding difference between their two countries on Kashmir and other related matters". The communique said discussions would be conducted initially at the ministerial level and at the appropriate stage direct talks will be held between Mr. Nehru and President Ayub.

(As a result of the joint communique, six rounds of talks were held between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. At the sixth, held on May 15-16, 1963 in New Delhi, the ministerial-level talks broke down and a joint statement was issued saying the two sides "regret" they were unable to achieve a solution.)

Nov. 30, 1962: The U.S. State Department welcomes the Ayub-Nehru agreement to renew their efforts at an early date to resolve the outstanding differences between their two countries on Kashmir and related matters.

"This is an encouraging sign of progress toward solving a most difficult and longstanding problem.

The resolution of this dispute will greatly benefit both countries and will contribute to the security of the sub-continent and of the free world. The leaders of Pakistan and India are to be congratulated on taking this important step, and we wish them well in their endeavours".

Dec. 21, 1962: In a joint communique issued following the meeting in Nassau (December 18-21) between President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Macmillan, the two leaders said: "they are hopeful that the common interest of Pakistan and India in the security of the sub-continent would lead to a reconciliation of Indian-Pakistani differences. To this end they expressed their gratification at the statesmanship shown by President Ayub and Prime Minister Nehru in agreeing to renew their efforts to resolve their differences at this crucial moment."

Feb. 3, 1964: The Security Council again begins debate on Kashmir (following uprising in Kashmir).

Feb. 14: Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. representative to the United Nations, says in the Security Council during the debate on Kashmir "it is a matter of greatest regret to my Government that India and Pakistan have been unable to reach a settlement either through

the mechanism set up by the Security Council or in bilateral talks".

Political Compromise

Reviewing the Kashmir dispute, Ambassador Stevenson said in 1948: "India and Pakistan agreed to the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions as a political compromise of the difficulties which followed the partition of the sub-continent into two countries and the ensuing dispute over the status of Kashmir. The essence of this compromise was that the people of Jammu and Kashmir should have the right to determine their future without coercion or intimidation from the military of either country."

"Our support of the United Nations resolutions is based on the principle of self-determination. The political compromise has not been fulfilled and so we have seen no progress, only further embitterment of the relations between these two great countries".

Giving history of efforts to resolve the issue between India and Pakistan in the past, Ambassador Stevenson said: "My Government believes that the two countries should consider the possibility of recourses to the good offices of a country or a person of their choice to assist them in bringing about the resumption of negotiations and in mediating on their differences.

My Government also suggests that the Security Council might be of assistance to the two countries in exploring the possibility of such third-party mediations."

Ambassador Stevenson said these suggestions are accompanied by the earnest hope of stimulating these two members of the United Nations to make a new approach in a new and urgent effort to resolve their differences. A fresh start must be made and Pakistan and India have, we believe, a responsibility to their own people, to the people of Kashmir and to the world community to set these issues on the road to final solution for the sake of humanity and of peace.

May 13: U.S. Deputy Representative to the United Nations, Francis T.P.L. Plimption, during the Security Council debate, calls for a "fresh look at the Kashmir situation. He urged the necessity of renewed efforts to bring about a peaceful solution, and concluded, "our concern is deep and we wish them well".

May 18: The Security Council having since February 3, begun, adjourned, resumed, recessed and reopened debate on the Kashmir issue, ends debate with appeals to India and Pakistan for restraint and new talks.

Sept. 4, 1965 : The Security Council meets in emergency session after fighting flares up all over Kashmir. The meeting was called by Arthur J. R. Goldberg, U.S. Representative to the U.N. and President of the Security Council.

Sept. 22 : President Johnson talks over the phone to President Ayub on cease-fire and Kashmir.

(DAWN, September 24, 1965)

Diary of Events

May

7: India masses forces on Pakistan borders ; Security Council warned.

8: Firing in Srinagar : 8 killed, 396 held; mass protest follows Abdullah's arrest.

10, 11, 12: More killed in fresh firing; popular defiance continues.

17: Rallies and *hartals* in held area continue.

India attacks and occupies 3 Pakistan posts in Kargil; Gen. Nimmo informed.

19: Indian attack in battalion strength on 3 Pakistan posts in Gultari sector repulsed.

28: India inducts more troops into Kashmir.

30: Ayub asks India to see reason; urges peaceful end of disputes.

June

4: More arrests in held Kashmir.

5: Civil disobedience in held area spreads.

12: U Thant's attention drawn to India's continued occupation of Kargil posts.

27: Chairman, Action Committee, in Srinagar demands early plebiscite.

30: India vacates Kargil posts at the instance of the U.N. but leaves behind minefields.

July

3: Plebiscite Front in Srinagar asks India to respect people's will.

10: Mass stir in held areas; Sadiq flies to Delhi.

11, 12, 13, 14: Mass rallies continue.

15: Shastri, Nanda, Sadiq discuss situation.

16: Food-riots in Kashmir.

17: 27 killed in firing in held area; 60 arrested.

31: Holy Relic Action Committee in Srinagar lodges protest with Sadiq against repression in valley by Police.

August

2: Indian Defence Minister, Chawan, goes on tour of held areas.

5: Plebiscite Front calls for strike; demonstrations on Aug. 9 to demand self-determination.

7: Holy Relic Action Committee holds public protest meeting in Srinagar.

9: "Sadae Kashmir" announces setting up of Revolutionary Council in held Kashmir. Indian Cabinet holds emergency meeting to discuss situation.

10: Revolutionary Council establishes National Government, Patriots cut roads, blast bridges, seize arms, food depots; heavy Indian casualties in widespread, fierce fighting.

Bhutto catagorically denies Indian allegation blaming Pakistan for happenings in Kashmir.

India rushes more army to held areas.

11: All-India Radio reports clashes all over held area; heavy Indian losses.

12: Indians suffer defeats.

13: Revolt spreads all over held area.

15: Srinagar cut off from valley.

16: Reports of India's use of artillery and planes against patriots.

Indian forces violate cease-fire line and forcibly re-occupy 3 posts in Kargil.

17 : Pakistan lodges protest with U.N. Secretary-General. Patriots inflict heavy casualties on Indians.

18: Indian forces set Kashmir villages on fire.

19: Bhutto asks U.N. to execute Kashmir resolutions.

20 : India violates Pakistan air space; India's mobilisation of forces along Pakistan borders reported.

21: India reported having committed 203 cease-fire line violations in 11 days.

22: Patriots wreck I.A F. plane ; Indian troops suffer heavy casualties.

23: Shastri threatens war.

24: Indians shell village Awan Sharif in Gujrat; 20 killed, 15 injured. Thant summons Nimmo for talks.

25: Indians attack 2 Pakistan posts in Tithwal, crossing cease-fire line. Pakistan demands compensation for losses in Awan.

26: Shastri tells Lok Sabha situation in Kashmir "much more grave".

27 : Delhi rules out mediation on Kashmir.

28 : India violates cease-fire line in Bedore; suffers heavy losses.

29 : Azad Kashmir President asks India to vacate occupied posts.

30 : Successive Indian attacks in Tithwal sector repulsed

31 : India suffers heavy casualties.

September

1: Ayub warns India, aggression will not go unchallenged.

Azad Kashmir forces supported by Pakistan troops cross cease-fire line and occupy Chhamb and Dewa in Bhimber sector; India throws I.A.F. into fighting; 4 Indian jets shot down.

2: Indians suffer heavy casualties all over.

3: Fierce fighting in Chhamb area.

4: Azad forces cross River Tawi; U Thant offers 5-point plan.

5: Azad forces capture Jaurian.

India rejects U.N. call for cease-fire; Pakistan asks U.N. to make serious effort to settle basic issue.

6: Indian forces launch 3-pronged surprise attack on Lahore; enter few miles; suffer heavy casualties; lose 22 fighter jets. President declares emergency; invokes U.N. Charter to exercise right of self-defence.

7: Enemy suffers shattering blows on land and in air; bombs civilian population.

Soekarno supports Pakistan and Kashmiris, Russia offers good offices.

8: Pakistan Navy destroys "Dwarka" base; Air Force bombs many enemy bases; enemy halted at new fronts.

Iran pledges all help to Pakistan.

9: Pakistan Army advances into India; P.A.F. maintains control of air; Indian offensive turns into retreat; U Thant arrives for talks with Ayub; China and Turkey pledge support to Pakistan.

10: Advancing Pakistan Army deals heavy blows to enemy; Ayub praises crushing reply to aggressors.

11: Khemkaran captured; Pakistan advances in Sind-Rajasthan front. U Thant leaves for India.

Pakistan offers 3-point proposal for plebiscite in Kashmir under the supervision of an Afro-Asian force.

12: Pakistan beats back heaviest enemy attack in Sialkot; destroys large tank force.

13: Munabao station captured; several enemy air bases destroyed; enemy tank, aircraft losses rise fast; India asks U.S. for more jet fighters.

14: I.A.F. bombs civilians in Peshawar, Kohat.

15: Pakistan forces capture new posts; maintain pressure on all fronts; U Thant reports his failure; Shastri says India will continue fighting.

16: Pakistan forces in complete command in every sector; Zafar leaves to attend Security Council emergency session.

17: Enemy put on defensive everywhere; King Feisal's brother offers to fight for Pakistan; U Thant asks U. N. to order cease-fire.

18 : Further gains by Pakistan forces on all fronts; Security Council continues debate on situation.

19 : World Press reports India being "soundly beaten"; Security Council debate continues.

20 : More gains for Pakistan forces; Security Council demands cease-fire by 12 noon Sept. 22; defeat turns Indian jingoism into pleadings for truce.

21 : Pakistan forces dominate on all fronts; President Ayub consults top party leaders; U Thant tells U.N. it is dangerous to leave Kashmir issue unsolved.

(DAWN, September 23, 1965)

Still time for honourable settlement
Nation's Security First, says Ayub

From KHURSHEED-UL-HASAN

Rawalpindi, Aug. 13: There was still time for the Indian rulers to recognise the gravity of the situation and bring about an honourable settlement of the Kashmir problem, declared President Ayub Khan, here today.

Referring to the popular uprising in the Kashmir valley, he said: "Years of oppression have not dimmed the hope which shines in the hearts of the Kashmiri people to achieve their destiny by deciding their own future.

In an Independence Day message, the President said: "We have come a long way from the pioneering days of 1947. There will be many an obstacle on the way. We will, Insha-Allah, overcome them. Nothing is more vital."

The President said: "It had always been our endeavour to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with all and our efforts have been blessed with fruitful results.

"Pakistan would not slacken in the pursuit of peace and progress."

Briefly mentioning Pakistan's international relations. President Ayub pointed out that new avenues of co-operation were opening up as the country's relations with its neighbours and outside world improved.

The President said: "Today we celebrate the 18th anniversary of our independence. An occasion like this evokes memories of the past and many events in the great struggle for Pakistan under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam and of innumerable sacrifices made by people in the cause of freedom.

"Today we can derive satisfaction from the thought that Pakistan is well set on her course of progress and prosperity. The march of world events has brought to us a sharper realisation of our stakes and our responsibilities. We are making our own contribution to lessening of tensions in the international field.

"We shall continue to strive for all that we believe to be right and just and honourable with dedication to tasks ahead of us and selfless devotion to duty. Pakistan should, with the grace of God, keep moving forward to greater goals."

TEXT OF MESSAGE

Following is the text of the President's Independence Day message.

"Today we celebrate the 18th anniversary of our Independence. An occasion like this evokes memories of the past and the many events in the great struggle for Pakistan under dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam and of the innumerable sacrifices made by our people in the cause of freedom.

"We have come a long way from the pioneering days of 1947. Today we can derive satisfaction from the thought that Pakistan is well set on her course of progress and prosperity. There will be many an obstacle on the way, and inevitable challenges, but our people determined to preserve their freedom, will Insha-Allah, overcome them. Nothing is more vital than the security of the country and no price is too great for its preservation.

STAKES

"The march of world events has brought to us a sharper realisation of our stakes and our responsibilities. We are making our own contribution to the lessening of tensions in the international field. New avenues of co-operation are opening up as our relations with our neighbours and the outside world improve. It has always been our endeavour to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with all and our efforts have been blessed with fruitful results.

"I am sure that your thoughts must be turning to the recent events in the vale of Kashmir. Years of oppression have not dimmed the hope which shines in hearts of the Kashmiri people to achieve their destiny by deciding their own future. There is still time for the Indian rulers to recognise the gravity of the situation and bring about an honourable settlement.

"We shall continue to strive for all that we believe to be right and just and honourable. We shall not slacken in the pursuit of peace and progress. With dedication to the tasks ahead of us and selfless devotion to duty, Pakistan should, with the grace of God, keep moving forward to greater goals."

"Pakistan Paindabad"

Shastri's Threat to Pakistan

New Delhi, Aug. 13: Indian Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri said here tonight: "Force will be met with force and 'aggression' against us will never be allowed to succeed."

Broadcasting to the nation on events in occupied Kashmir, he said: "If Pakistan has any ideas of annexing any part of our territories by force, she should think afresh."

Mr. Shastri alleged that armed "infiltrators" from Pakistan and Azad Kashmir had crossed the cease-fire line in civilian disguise.

"There is no doubt that this is thinly disguised armed attack on our country organised by Pakistan and it has to be met as such," he said.

"On this occasion the method adopted and the strategy used show signs of a new tutelage' possibly a new conspiracy," Mr. Shastri charged.

ONE CONCLUSION

The Indian Premier said: "Only one conclusion is now possible and it is this: Pakistan

has probably taken a deliberate decision to keep up an atmosphere of tension. Peace apparently does not suit her intentions."

The Indian Prime Minister said: "Mopping up operations were now in progress" and "Pakistan's latest attempt at creating disorder in Kashmir is being crushed." No quarter will be given to the saboteurs.

Pakistan had created a similar situation in 1947 and then also had initially pleaded innocence, Mr. Shastri added.

The more important question before us now is not that of these infiltrators, and their activities because we are quite clear as to what to do with them. The real question is that of our relations with Pakistan, he declared.

Pakistan "committed naked aggression" in the Rann of Kutch last April, he charged but eventually the Armed Forces of Pakistan had to go back from the Indian soil and it was reasonable to hope that our mutual relations might take a turn for the better.

"In this context" he added, "it is amazing that Pakistan should have embarked on yet another adventure."

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

U.N. must name India Aggressor
Evasion is cowardly, says Russel

London, Sept. 28: Bertrand Russel, the British Philosopher and Nobel Prize winner, has condemned India's naked aggression on Pakistan and described it as reckless folly.

In a statement (partly reported in Tuesday's "Dawn") Earl Russel said it was a clear violation of the U.N. Charter and should be so described. Refusal to distinguish an aggressor from the attacked is cowardly and no service to peace, he added.

Earl Russel urged a permanent solution of the Kashmir question.

In his statement Earl Russel said: "Evidence mounts that Pakistan is being punished because of its friendship with China and its policy of independence. The Indo-Pakistan war enabled the United States to deflect the world's attention from its barbarous war in Viet-Nam.

In Kashmir, India has refused to allow a plebiscite for many years, despite United Nations resolutions. One hundred thousand

Indian troops have suppressed Kashmiri autonomy. Despite all this, for 17 years Mr. Nehru held back from invoking the two Articles of the Indian Constitution which would integrate Kashmir by decree. We must ask why Premier Shastri invoked these two Articles, arrested Sheikh Abdullah and thereby effectively closed the doors to peaceful redress of the Kashmiris' grievances. The answer to this question suggests the cause of the out-break of this war.

Infiltration over the cease-fire line in Kashmir can hardly be offered by India as a justification for attacking Pakistan with her army, Before the fighting, both Indian and Pakistani troops faced each other, at the cease-fire line. Infiltration, therefore, was as much a reflection of the inability of Indian troops to prevent Kashmiris from coming over the line, as it was a reflection of Pakistani acquiescence in such infiltration.

The official integration of Kashmir made the uprising in the Valley inevitable, and the participation in the uprising of Kashmiris from Pakistan had to be expected.

For the Indian army to initiate hostilities for violation of the Kashmir cease-fire line was bad enough but to attack Pakistan without

warning was naked aggression and reckless folly. It was a clear violation of the United Nations Charter and should be so described. Refusal to distinguish an aggressor from the attacked is cowardly and no service to peace.

"Reports in the Western Press such as the Daily "Telegraph" "Time and Tide" and "Evening Standard" indicate that the United States of America contrived the attack on Pakistan through the Central Intelligence Agency.

"The policy of containing China militarily includes apparently destroying Marshal Ayub Khan's Government as a warning to others integration of Kashmir into India would enable the United States to extend its military encirclement of China. It is clear that the Indian Army could not have moved without American approval.

"China's actions on the Indian border cannot be understood without reference to these facts. It is not enough merely to call for world peace over and over again. The underlying issues have to be examined without fear or favour.

"The Government of Pakistan is quite right to insist that the cease-fire should be combined

with a political solution of the Kashmir question. It is essential that the end of the fighting should result in a permanent solution and not in a festering sore for a further 17 years.

(Dawn, 29th September, 1965)

India Must Heed Kashmiris' Temper

50-Truck Army convoy ambushed; Srinagar Police Lines mauled; Mandi town evacuated

Muzaffarabad, Aug. 13: The Kashmiri freedom fighters ambushed a big Indian Army convoy near Samba (Jammu Sector) and blew up 50 Trucks. The Indian's took to their heels leaving behind 25 corpses, announced "Sadae Kashmir" in its 8 p.m. Bulletin, monitored here, tonight.

The patriots blasted petrol depots, destroyed the camp of an Indian Army Company and cut off the telephone and telegraph lines in the area.

According to latest news bulletin broadcast by "Sadae Kashmir" at 9-30 to-night, there was a major clash between the Kashmir freedom fighters and Indian Army at Jaurian near Jammu last night.

Ten Indian troops were killed and 15 seriously wounded.

The patriots also engaged two companies of the Indian Army near Uri. After a 6-hour battle, the Indians fled from the camp in cover of darkness. In the morning, 30 dead and ten wounded Indians crying for help were found on the battle-ground.

"Sadae Kashmir" said the Valley of Kashmir was proving the "Valley of death" for the Indian usurpers. Time was not far off when the Indians will either be buried in this valley or will have to make their escape, the patriot radio warned.

The patriots this morning inflicted heavy casualties on Indian Police when they attacked the Police Lines near Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar.

The patriots attacked the Police Lines at 1-30 early this morning (Friday) and continued firing up to 4 a.m. A number of Indians were killed while the rest made good their escape in darkness.

According to "Sadae Kashmir" the freedom fighters carried out a number of successful raids on the Indian troops and have blown up three more bridges, on the Srinagar-Leh road.

"All-India Radio" in its morning bulletin admitted the attack on Police Lines and subsequent firing till 4 o'clock this morning.

The freedom fighters made another valiant bid to seize the Srinagar airport and radio station and wounded four Indian policemen in the encounter, according to reports received in Karachi to-night.

"Reuter" reported heavy movements of Indian occupation troops and police in Srinagar after the three-hour clash early today.

The Reuter report said, the main aim of the freedom fighters was the heavily-guarded airport, four miles from the scene of today's clash, and the Srinagar Radio station.

ARMS SEIZED

"Sadae Kashmir" reported that in the south-east of Jammu, the Indian Army and the patriots were engaged for about two hours. In this clash the Indian Army was put to flight by the Revolutionary Forces. The enemy left behind two mortars, ten mortar shells, eight light machine-guns, a wireless set and a large amount of ammunition.

The Indian Army has got the town Mandi, a strategic point in the Poonch area, evacuated by the civilian population following mounting pressure of freedom fighters, according to the evening news bulletin of All-India Radio.

Fierce fighting has been going on around Poonch city since Monday and the Indian Army has suffered heavy losses at the hands of the patriots.

SUCCESS

According to "Sadae Kashmir" uprising has enveloped the areas towards north and north-west south and south-east of Srinagar and the Indian Army has suffered a large number of casualties.

The patriots continued eliminating positions of the occupation army in Uri and Baramula, 10 and 40 miles from the cease-fire line respectively.

The Brigade Headquarters at Baramula, in particular, remained the target of the rebel attacks.

AIM

Correspondent Conrad Fink of the "Associated Press of America" in despatch from New Delhi said fresh fighting erupted in India-held Kashmir's capital Srinagar early on Friday.

"Raiders" described by the Indian Government radio as Pakistani infiltrators, attacked the Indian police barracks in Srinagar at 01-30 local time and firing on the city's outskirts

was reported still continuing at 8 a.m. local time.

It appeared, Fink said, the guerrillas aimed at cutting off Srinagar, accessible from India only by air and one long difficult mountain road.

Secondary roads leading to Srinagar from other areas were attacked and convoys ambushed.

In one ambush earlier 12 Indian policemen were killed when their truck was riddled by gunfire and burned.

South along the cease-fire line, heavy fighting was reported in the Chhamb sector, about 30 miles north-west of the city of Jammu, the report said.

TROOP MOVEMENT

"Reuter" said there were heavy movements of Indian troops and police in Srinagar today. Army trucks and jeeps, with bren-guns poking from the windows, toured the streets. Unofficial estimates put the combined strength of Army and Police forces in the occupied Kashmir at about 1,00,000, it added.

SRINAGAR SITUATION

A 10-hour curfew was in force in Srinagar from 20-30 local time.

For the first time since restrictions on civilian movement began four days ago, barbed wire barricades were thrown across bridges last night.

Police stopped and searched cars in the streets.

Cars belonging to foreigners were thoroughly examined. Outside the puppet regime Secretariat building, two tough looking Sikh Policemen were sitting in a newly-dug trench with rifles at the ready.

All-India Radio today also admitted that there had again occurred a big clash at Chhamb near Akhnur and the Indian troops have suffered heavy losses.

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

Stock-taking

The country approaches the nineteenth year of its independent existence with hope for the future and with confidence in its ability to meet the ordeals for which all those daring to lead a free existence always have to remain prepared. There have been many occasions since the advent of freedom when Pakistan went through experiences that tested the character and endurance of its people. It was not unoften that circumstances offered a challenge to the country's very survival. Whatever the country's failings may have been in other spheres, it has always managed somehow to stand up to those offering such a challenge. The country's difficulties and problems have by no means ended, and the threat to its security abides, but owing to the successes it has achieved in consolidating its independence and in improving the organisation of national affairs under the far-sighted and dynamic leadership of President Ayub Khan, the country is today far better equipped than ever before to face any adverse circumstances that tomorrow may have in store for it.

National politics is no longer the despair of men who place the interests of the country

above those of the party or the group. Political disagreements there are — as in any other democratic country—but they are no longer allowed to create uncertainties which breed aimlessness and paralyse the administration. Political stability has provided a sound foundation for administering the country's affairs, for carrying out over-due tasks of reform and renovation and for strengthening the impulse to all-round development. So far as the national economy is concerned, there has been a major advance on a broad front. Agricultural and industrial production has gone up, exports have registered a substantial increase and the national income has risen beyond the planners' expectations. Thanks to these achievements and the investment boom of the last five years, the national economy is within a measurable distance of viability. In addition to this steady improvement in its domestic fortunes, the country has adopted a forceful and forward foreign policy which makes for a fuller and truer expression of its personality in dealings with others. President Ayub Khan's vision has enabled the country to re-assess its position and redefine its role in a fast-changing world. The country's foreign relations have been placed on a sound footing. Bilateral relationship with this or that Great Power does not inhibit us any more from conducting our foreign policy in accordance with our

own basic interests and purposes. On the whole, therefore, the country has more than enough reason to be satisfied with its performance.

The stock-taking that is due on an anniversary of freedom necessitates a brief assessment of some of the more important developments that took place during the eighteenth year of the country's establishment. Pakistan's relations with India were subjected to an almost intolerable strain owing to the latter's persistent refusal to arrive at a just and peaceful settlement of outstanding problems, more particularly owing to its aggression in the Rann of Kutch and its policy of destroying the separate political and cultural identity of Kashmir through forcible absorption of the disputed territory into India. It is not just a matter of academic interest to recall here that the sub-continent had hairbreadth escape from a major conflagration of war only a few months ago. The threatened catastrophe was only averted because this country was strong enough to repel an aggression and punish the would-have-been aggressor. The courage and solidarity which the nation showed under the leadership of President Ayub and the heroism of its soldiers were the factors which deterred India's jingoists from putting their unholy design into execution. Tension between India and Pakistan, which showed signs of subsiding

a little after the signing of the agreement on the Rann of Kutch, has again begun to rise following the outbreak of an armed rebellion in occupied Kashmir where people have evidently lost hope of securing freedom through a peaceful struggle. It is difficult to offer a prognosis concerning the course that the Indo-Pakistan conflict will take in the future. But if this country is not to forget the lesson it drew from its most recent experience of India's ways, it must remain ever-vigilant.

The eighteenth year of freedom witnessed the further unfolding of Pakistan's independent foreign policy as also the hardening of US opposition to this phenomenon. The President's historic visits to China and to the USSR have helped establish friendly relations between Pakistan and two of its big neighbours and contributed to a strengthening of peace. And the President's recent exchanges with Afro-Asian statesmen have helped cement the solidarity of the third world. Washington has made no effort to understand why Pakistan's policy has developed in the way it has. This lack of understanding is evidenced by its extraordinary request to President Ayub a few months ago to put off his visit to the US and by the recent postponement of the world Bank Consortium meeting at the instance of the US. This country's disillusionment

with America began when, in utter disregard of considerations relating to its security, the US Government started extending military aid to India on the pretext of strengthening that country in its so-called military confrontation with China. And while on the one hand the US has failed to keep faith with this country and has positively helped in undermining its security, it has been demanding, on the other, that Pakistan should forego the right to evolve a foreign policy which is better suited to the requirements of its security and which even otherwise strengthens the peace of a sensitive region. The recent attempt by the US to use the threat of the withdrawal of economic aid as a weapon in its diplomatic armoury has not only confirmed this country in its commitment to the present policy of national assertion but also highlighted the inadvisability of placing undue reliance on a single source of economic assistance. The country's refusal to be brow-beaten and its resolve to go without aid when it is tied to political strings bespeak both its political maturity and its supreme confidence in its own strength.

It is a heartening anniversary thought that the country has emerged stronger from the many ordeals it has faced. The institutional framework which President Ayub Khan has

has provided for the people and the Government to act in unison in all challenging circumstances, the increasing emphasis on self-reliance in the sphere of economic up-building and the adoption of a foreign policy that advances national and Afro Asian interests and helps preserve world peace, these can be identified as the main sources from which the country derives its strength. The nation will doubtless need to draw more and more sustenance from these energy-giving sources as it continues its onward march.

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

Sense of grievance among Muslims

Indian Paper on Official Attitude

The "Times of India" said yesterday that the "average Muslim" of India has sense of grievance against the Government and the majority community.

In his weekly column "The National Scene", political commentator B. G. Verghese said that some recent events affecting the Aligarh Muslim University had once again served to draw pointed attention to the position of the Muslims in India. The Vice-Chancellor had been "brutally assaulted" on April 25 and the Presidential Ordinance affecting the composition of the University Court and the Executive Council had caused an alarm that the institution might not be able to preserve its "Muslim" character.

The newspaper said that the "passions surrounding Aligarh" were both a symbol and a symptom of a much larger problem. In this respect the "Times of India" referred to a recent convention of Aligarh Old Boys in Lucknow which demanded withdrawal of the ordinance and voiced a number of "well-known" Muslim grieʌances.

A joint Assembly of the Bihar State Congress Muslim Convention and the Jamiat-e-Ulema in Patna had in turn criticised the anti-ordinance agitation as communal.

The "Times of India" said that the position of Indian Muslims was that of a "backward community" whose "backwardness" must become drag on the progress of India.

The newspaper urged that an Inquiry covering the allegations of discrimination against Muslims for jobs in the Government, trade and industry, and in the grant of permits, licence and loans be held. Other grievances such as difficulties in building or repairing mosques and schools or in maintaining grave-yards could be remedied through administrative action.

It said: "In many cases it will be found that few Muslims offer themselves for competitive examinations or before Selection Boards either because they are unable to compete on account of educational reasons or sometimes, often wrongly, because they feel that it is no use trying since they will not be given a fair chance."

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

Pakistan urged to support People's Revolt

From Dawn Special Representative

London, Aug. 13: A call to Pakistan to recognise the "People's Government" set up by the freedom fighters in Kashmir is made by the Kasmir Liberation Movement which is holding a meeting here on Sunday in support of the Kashmiri struggle.

In a statement released today, the Kashmir Liberation Movement expressed "support and solidarity towards the revolt of the people of Jammu and Kashmir against Indian repression."

"We further demand", the statement went on, "that the People's Government recently set up by the freedom fighters of the Valley of Kashmir, be immediately recognised by the Government of Pakistan. We also urge upon the Government of Pakistan to exert its influence on other friendly countries to recognise the People's Government in Kashmir."

Denouncing the pro-Indian and other unpatriotic elements among the Kashmiris, the

Kashmir Liberation Movement said that now "there is no alternative left but for Kashmir to accede to Pakistan".

AYUB BACKED

Supporting Pakistan's bold stand on the economic aid issue, the Kashmiri body's statement declared: "We strongly uphold the decision of President Ayub Khan that Pakistan should go ahead without economic aid previously promised by the United States for the Third Five-Year Plan and we appeal to the President through the High Commissioner in Britain that arrangements be made to raise funds from Pakistanis and Kashmiris living abroad to help meet the American challenge."

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

Supplying Arms to Volunteers
Appeal to Azad Kashmir President

Mr. A. R. Kayani, Convener of the Kashmir Liberation Volunteer Corps, had appealed to the President of Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Abdul Hamid Khan, to provide arms and equipment to 500 volunteers of his corps and allow them to cross the cease-fire line to join their brethren on the other side in their uprising to shatter India's imperialistic hold over Kashmir.

In a letter to the Azad Kashmir President released to the Press in Karachi yesterday Mr. Kayani assured all-out support to the Revolutionary Council in its war of liberation. He also welcomed the Azad Kashmir Government's decision to extend full support to the Revolutionary Council.

Mr. Kayani said that the time had come to chase the enemy out of the motherland and not relent until the Indian imperialists have vacated the aggression.

Explaining the progress made in the recruiting of volunteers, he said hundreds of enthusiastic Karachites applied for recruitment and 500 from among them were selected.

(Dawn, 14th Aug , 1965)

Kenya Parliament Chief Whip calls on Bhutto & Zafar

Rawalpindi, Aug. 13: Mr. J. D. Kali, Chief Whip of the Government Party in the Parliament of Keyna, currently on a visit of Pakistan yesterday separately called on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mr. S. M. Zafar, Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs, soon after his arrival from Lahore by air here this morning.

He discussed matters of mutual interest with them.

During his meeting with the Law Minister, the Chief Whip of Kenya showed keen interest in the land reforms of Pakistan. The Law Minister presented him a copy of Pakistan's Constitution and the Land Reforms Regulations.

Before his meeting with the Law Minister the distinguished guest met senior officers of the Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs at Secretariat No V.

Mr. J. D Kali also called on Alhaj Abd-Allah Zaheeruddin (Lal Mia) Chief Parliamentary Secretary with whom he remained for more

than half an hour. Mr. Lal Mia presented him a cigarette box of walnut wood and table lamp made of brass—both fine specimens of famous Kashmiri art.

Mr. Kali also visited Taxila in the afternoon.

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

Pakistan-Nepal Microwave Link Pact—A New Chapter in Friendly Ties

Kathmandu, Aug. 13: Pakistan and Nepal last evening signed an agreement for the establishment of Lahore-Kathmandu-Dacca Microwave System.

This system will provide the most stable communications facilities based on advanced technique in the tele-communications field.

The agreement signed by Pakistan Ambassador Arshad Hussain on behalf of Pakistan and Mr. Bhek Bahadur Thapa, Secretary, Economic Planning on behalf of Nepal in the presence of Khan Abdus Sabur Khan and Mr. Kedarman Baithet, Communications Ministers of Pakistan and Nepal respectively. Also present at the signing ceremony were Secretaries, Foreign Affairs, Law and Communications, Nepal, and Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmed, Director-General, Pakistan Foreign Ministry.

Speaking on the occasion Mr. Sabur Khan thanked King Mahendra and his Nepalese counterpart for the keen interest in the implementation of the project and for strengthening the friendly and brotherly ties between Pakistan and Nepal.

He was confident that the signing of this agreement would open a new chapter in friendly relations between the two countries.

Nepalese Minister for Transport and Communications Kedarman Baithet reciprocated the sentiments of Mr. Sabur and expressed his confidence that this would further cement friendly ties already existing between them. The new system would provide 60 to 80 telephone lines. A feasibility survey for the project was recently completed by a Japanese concern and agreement follows encouraging report by them.

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

USA Hastens to 'Note' Delhi Version—Kashmir Uprising

From EJAZ HUSAIN

Washington, Aug 13: The United States yesterday took the unusual step of saying that it had "noted reports that Pakistani infiltrators have violated the U N. cease fire line in Kashmir". The State Department spokesman Robert McCloskey stated this at his daily Press conference adding "we remain concerned, as we have always been, that the two parties 'hopefully can reach' a peaceful settlement".

In diplomatic jargon the fact of "noting that Pakistani infiltrators have violated the cease-fire line" would mean that the United States has swallowed the Indian propaganda that the latest crisis in Kashmir stemmed from "infiltration by Pakistanis".

Later in the day another State Department source contacted by this correspondent tried to blunt the edge of McCloskey's statement by saying that it was based on the first reports received from India. Since then, he added, the Pakistani version of the Kashmir situation had reached the State Department and it was under study.

HASTY CONCLUSION

Nonetheless the fact remains that the US has hastily jumped to the conclusion about the role of "Pakistani infiltrators" in the current crisis inside occupied Kashmir.

The official US reaction to the latest revolt in Kashmir is in line with the reports being filed by most American newsmen in India and in Srinagar. The "Baltimore Sun" repoter in the occupied Kashmir capital stated that there was no sign of any uprising among the local population. And the "New York Times" yesterday published a triple-column radio photo on its front-page showing two "Pakistani officers chained and blind-folded" being led from a plane on their arrival in New Delhi. According to "New York Times" New Delhi correspondent the Indians had identified them as Capt. Ghulam Hussain and Capt. Mohammed Sajjad.

CHINA BOGEY

The NBC reporter in India yesterday highlighted in a direct broadcast the Indian allegation that "Pakistani guerrillas" had been "trained by the Chinese" for infiltrating Kashmir. He then went on to add his own "observation" that "Pakistani guerrillas" had cut off Indian supply route to Ladakh where Chinese "aggression" had taken place. There were

also reports in the US Press about "Chinese cigarettes" being distributed by "Pakistani infiltrators" near Srinagar.

The reaction of the Americans—official as well as non-official—reflects Washington's growing alienation with Pakistan due to our independent foreign policy. Although officially the United States is still committed to self-determination in Kashmir their dislike for Pakistan's foreign policy and their obsession with China are getting the better of their moral commitment to the people of Kashmir given through the United Nations.

Indian Ambassador, B K Nehru, yesterday called on the US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk and reportedly handed him an aide memoire on the situation in Kashmir expressing his "serious concern" at the "Pakistani invasion". As usual Mr. Rusk gave a patient hearing to the Indian diplomat's allegations against Pakistan. According to diplomatic sources Mr. Rusk may soon call the Pakistani Ambassador in Washington to discuss the Kashmir situation.

Agency reports add: The State Department yesterday expressed the hope that India and Pakistan would reach a settlement in the Kashmir dispute.

The Department spokesman had been asked at a Press conference for comment on the latest out-break of fighting in the disputed area.

He replied that the responsibility for maintaining a cease-fire in Kashmir lay with India and Pakistan in co-operation with the UN observers team there.

"We remain concerned as we have always been that the two parties hopefully will reach a settlement" the spokesman added.

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

India's self-delusion won't alter facts

State-Wide Uprising in Valley Undeniable

Muzaffarabad, Aug. 13: A spokesman of the Azad Kashmir Government said today that for all appearances, a massive and powerful movement was sweeping occupied Kashmir and India's latest propaganda posture was an "act of self-delusion."

This self-delusion, the spokesman added, might temporarily calm a guilty conscience, but cannot stop the "march of history".

The spokesman said: "In a bid to minimize the spontaneity of the anti-India movement in occupied Kashmir, the Indian propaganda is trying to dismiss the revolt as the doing "of a few infiltrators from across the cease-fire line."

All such pretensions are knocked off by broadcasts from India's own Radio station. For instance, the Indian Radio in its broadcast in Kashmiri, at 17-55 hours, on Aug. 9 said: "Most of the Pakistanis who are violating

the cease-fire line to start subversive activities have been either arrested or killed''.

The following day, the same news service reported extensive subversive activities covering practically the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir. It said: "The Pakistani intruders have started subversive activities in Badgam, Kupwara, Gulmarg as well as Kishtwar, setting property on fire, etc.

In Poonch sector, the intruders have started subversive activities in Mendhar. They have also created panic in Akhnur. They have opened fire at a place a few miles from Srinagar to create panic and they have caused damage to two culverts. At many places they are operating 40 to 42 miles deep inside Kashmir''.

POPULAR UPRISING

The two Indian broadcasts would clearly show that the sabotage went on even after most of the so-called "Pakistani intruders" had been either arrested or killed—on India's own showing.

The conclusion is obvious: The uprising in Kashmir is the spontaneous reaction of the long-suffering people of the State itself".

"It is practically impossible for any infiltrators from the cease-fire line to fight their

way to the very outkirts of Srinagar, a good 80 miles away or to Kishtwar which is still farther away.''

"Six full-fledged divisions of the Indian army are deployed along the cease-fire line and the territory beyond is one huge fortress, bristling with boobytraps, trenches well-manned outposts and a formidable array of heavy armour", the spokesman said.

He added: "The hard core of resistance, it appears lies in and around Srinagar and the movement is fanning out towards the outer fringes of the State rather than the other way round.

WISHFUL THINKING

Hence any attempt to dismiss the popular movement in occupied Kashmir as merely the subversive foray of a few infiltrators from across the cease-fire line is nothing but wishful thinking that all imperialisms tend to indulge in.

But there are facts of geography and trends in the affairs of men that even imperialisms cannot blink at.

For instance, no empire has been able to stop the relentless march of humanity towards fulfilment of the right of self-determination. The trebling of the strength of the United Nations within a decade-and-a-half is irrefutable evidence of it.

(Dawn, 14th Aug., 1965)

India Unmasked

JUSTICE demands that the mask of Indian secularism should be torn to shreds. Our Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, should lose no time to goad the Security Council to rip open the sheep's garb from the Ahinsa-professing wolves of New Delhi. What the Indian communalists are doing in Kashmir is not new. It is only a continuation of events immediately before the fugitive Dogra Ruler colluded with India for a mass killing of Muslims in 1947 as a prelude to Kashmir's fraudulent and illegal "accession" to India. The process of annihilating the subjugated Muslims of Kashmir has now reached a poignant climax. About 60,000 Kashmiri Muslims have been forced to seek shelter in Azad Kashmir or Pakistan. They are a hapless living monument of Indian communalism. Torture and loot, rape and abduction, have been only some of the weapons. Villages have been set on fire and fields and orchards burnt to drive away their Muslim owners. They are being replaced by fanatical Hindus. From the scheme of things it would be evident that New Delhi has stepped up its plan to de-Kashmirise the occupied Kashmir. This is another Indian way of "solving" the Kashmir problem. If there are no Kashmiri Muslims there will be no Kashmir

problem. This planned and premeditated genocide of Muslims in the Indian-occupied Kashmir has its parallel only in the barbaric Nazi methods.

This, then, is the problem to which Pakistan is drawing the attention of the Security Council. By itself the genocide of Kashmiri Muslims is a volcanic issue. The greedy expansionists in New Delhi would soon start calling it their inherent, sovereign right. Don't they call a disputed territory an integral part of their country? They built up this untenable stand step by step. They are on way to telling the world that the genocide of Muslims is their birthright. Now is the time for the United Nations to act with utmost firmness and haste Tomorrow it might be too late. There may not be Muslims left to tell their tale of woe and misery. The UN Charter gives the Security Council enough jurisdiction to probe into these very serious charges. An international commission should be immediately constituted. The truth should be found out and the hands of the marauders stopped. If the charges of genocide are not true India should have nothing to worry about. On the other hand, it will establish her claim to secularism.

Our bitter experience of Indians, however, points to the contrary. The Indians have been

claiming from house-top that the Kashmiri Muslims are with them. When asked to test this contention in a plebiscite, the democratic, secular India frets and foams. New Delhi knows it too well that blood is thicker than water. It realises that asking the Kashmiris about their choice between Pakistan and India is to invite her extinction from Kashmir. For New Delhi love of territory has always been greater than her oft-repeated love of principles or of justice and fairplay. Not unless the diehards in Delhi are forced to submit to reason, will they see reason. This has been evident from the day India became free. The world ought to take note of this historical fact and deal with India accordingly.

That Indian secularism is not even skin-deep is borne out by the statements made by Hindu leaders in India. The Chief of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh, Guru Golwalker, in his book entitled, "We—Our Nationhood Defined", declares: "We repeat, in Hindustan, the land of Hindus, lives and should live the Hindu nation." An ardent votary of Hindu Nazism, he has also said: "Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by."

And now let us see in the words of Mr. J. P. Narain, Indian Socialist leader, what bestial, shameful and unthinkable atrocities have been committed on Muslim minorities in India. He says: "Women—and pregnant women at that—have been cut down, little children bludgeoned to death, living babies thrown into fire, young women raped to death; these and such other acts outrage one's feelings of human decency."

That is a Hindu leader giving a taste of Indian secularism! And what Mr. Frank Anthony, a Christian leader of India, has said, is also revealing: "Today the Muslims are the victims of communalism, tomorrow it may be other minorities. In Calcutta even educated Bengali students joined in riots. Every now and then, the Indian Muslims have to work in the shadow of death." These are some of the samples of Indian secularism in practice. The world might like to be fooled by India's hollow pretensions but the people of Pakistan know what Indian secularism stands for.

(MORNING NEWS, 29th Sept., 1965)

India will have 30 A-bombs by 1966

From Our London Correspondent

LONDON, Sept. 28: Before the end of 1966 India would have manufactured in her own nuclear plant at Bombay, no less than thirty 20-kiloton atom bombs at a cost of Rs. 40 crore. Clare Hollingworth, the "Guardian's" defence correspondent, reporting from New Delhi and quoting 'competent observers' said that 84 Indian MPs have demanded that, to deter China, India speed up the manufacture of the atom bomb. She said that in this regard India is solidly supported by the armed forces—by important sectors of the administration and by the Atomic Energy Commission in Bombay.

Miss Hollingworth says the USA and Britain have greatly exaggerated costs with the object of discouraging Sweden, the UAR, Israel and India from production. But as most Indians today do not trust the motives of white men they have, with some assistance from French costing experts, reached the conclusion that they can produce thirty 20-kiloton bombs for less than Rs. 40 crore within a year.

The Trombay Nuclear Plant was given by Canada on the clear understanding that the reactor would only be used for peaceful purposes. However, last night a senior Indian officer said, "Sure, we agreed not to use the reactor to make nuclear weapons, but if national interests are at stake, as they may be, we have no alternative but to go ahead."

It was reported last week in the British Press that President Johnson, through the US Ambassador in New Delhi was trying to discourage India from making her own bomb as it would be financially back-breaking for starving India.

The same reports had hinted that President Johnson was willing to give a nuclear guarantee to Premier Shastri, if ever he faced nuclear blackmail, provided India promised not to make her own bomb. Such guarantee, it was said, could be given with the approval of the UN.

(MORNING NEWS, 29th Sept., 1965)

How India treats her Minorities

By Master Tara Singh

AFTER quiet co-agitation during my rest in Salogarh, I have come to certain conclusions, which I wish to share with my fellow Sikhs as well as other political workers of their communities.

When India achieved Independence in August, 1947, the Sikhs had been justly recognised and accepted as legitimate inheritors of the sovereignty of India, along with Hindus and Muslims.

When the country was partitioned the Sikhs accepted solemn assurances of the Hindu leaders saying that they would be accorded a free political status in a free India through a Constitution which they freely accepted.

Forgotten

As power passed into the hands of the majority community these solemn promises were forgotten and cynically repudiated.

Resurgence of militant Hinduism has, since 1947, completely taken control of the scene in free India. Emphasis on Sanskrit, ramming of Hindi down the unwilling throats of non-Hindi speaking people, insistence on performance of

Hindu rituals at State functions to the complete exclusion of Muslim, Christian or Sikh ceremonies, and aggressive attitude towards minority communities have become the order of the day.

The communal riots at Jubbulpore, Aligarh, Jamshedpur and Calcutta, coupled with persistent and planned desecration of Sikh places of worship, have been organised by communalist thugs. Christian missionaries and institutions have been run down, while proselytising activities of the Hindus have been encouraged by the State. Much of the discontent in the hill areas of Assam and Nagaland is traceable to the unfair treatment of Christians.

In Kashmir, continuous attempts have been made to stifle true aspirations of the Kashmiris, and recently Sheikh Abdullah has been put in detention, having been refused the elementary right of explaining himself. It is clear that the minorities in India in particular the Muslims, the Christians and the Sikhs, stand in great jeopardy.

Threat

The threat which this situation poses assumes most alarming proportions in the case of the Sikhs, for they have their cultural roots and social integration with the Hindus. Precisely

on this account, there has been an open conspiracy during the last 18 years to suppress and absorb Sikhs into the inchoate mass of Hindus.

Sikh people are makers of history and the community's identity cannot be wiped out in the name of national unity, either under the orders of political leaders, or, indirectly, through policies adopted by the Congress. What God and history has built cannot be, and shall not be permitted to be destroyed by these new rulers of India.

It is in this background that the tacit concensus of Sikh attitudes and opinions has found a spontaneous echo in the resolution recently adopted at a Sikh Conference at Ludhiana, wherein demand has been made for an international and independent tribunal before whom the Sikhs can prove their afore-mentioned case, and wherein the political goal of the Sikhs has been laid down as self-determined political status within the Union of India. I endorse this resolution in its entirety.

The friction between India and Pakistan has assumed sinister proportions now, and the Sikhs feel particularly concerned about this matter. It is the considered opinion of the Sikh people that persistence of tensions between Pakistan and India is extremely detrimental to the over-

all interest of this sub-continent and it is specially harmful to the welfare of the Sikh people.

Friendship

The Sikhs earnestly desire a lasting and genuine friendship between Pakistan and India, and, at all events, the Sikhs are clear in their minds that feelings of friendliness between the Sikh people and the people of West Pakistan should be nourished and strengthened so that the Sikhs can have a free and open intercourse with and access to their holy land, the land of epiphany of their religion. Towards this end, the Sikh people shall continue to strive.

The Sikhs demand a space under the sun of free India wherein they can breathe the air of freedom. In the traditions of Sikhism and in the teachings of their Gurus, there is no room for inter-communal strife or inter-communal discrimination, and whenever and wherever, therefore, the Sikhs acquire decision-making powers they shall always remain animated with those traditions and the great teachings of their Gurus.

Concerning the economic activities and programmes, the Sikh people are clear in their minds that the spirit of their religion and their historical traditions militate against concentration of wealth in individual hands, and abuse of

means of production by private agencies Simultaneously, the Sikhs are passionately devoted to the cause of preservation and protection of autonomy of the individual.

These are the broad conclusions at which I have arrived and these are the broad indications of the programme which I now propose to place before my people for their deliverance from the present state of depression to which they have been reduced.

(MORNING NEWS, 28th Sept , 1965)

India enlarged War to avoid total Defeat in Kashmir

RAWALPINDI, Sept. 27: Independent foreign sources have exposed India's blatant lie that India had invaded Pakistan only to forestall an attack by Pakistan. They have concluded that the invasion was a diversionary tactic to avoid in Kashmir a defeat that had become inevitable.

The Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chawan, had told the Lok Sabha on Sept. 6 that the Pakistan aircraft had allegedly bombed Indian installations in East Punjab on the earlier night, and that according to him, "it was quite apparent that Pakistan's next move was to attack the Punjab across the international frontiers".

The Indian representative repeated the same unfounded allegation in the Security Council.

These allegations are belied by several independent foreign sources. A report in "The Times" London, from its New Delhi correspondent on Sept. 6 said:

"Asked to-night to give the evidence on which India had concluded that Pakistan was about to attack in the Punjab, a senior (Indian)

Defence Ministry official said they had information about Pakistan troop concentration, and the way Pakistanis were patrolling showed their intentions".

REAL REASONS

"The political indications are that the Pakistanis had no purpose, their intention was to keep their fighting limited to Kashmir. The evidence advanced here last night (by India) is thin".

On Sept. 10, "The Times" correspondent in Delhi, while reporting that "the initial momentum of the Indian attack on Pakistan has begun to falter", and that "for the first time it was admitted here (in Delhi) today that Indian troops have had to withdraw", also quoted the Indian Defence Minister as telling the Lok Sabha by way of explanation that "militarily we had to take effective steps to stop Pakistani aggression in the Chhamb sector (of Kashmir) which was launched with heavy armour and air support at the far end of our long line of communications. We had to draw out Pakistani forces elsewhere to relieve the pressure in the Chhamb sector".

"That explanation of the Indian invasion of Pakistan", "The Times" correspondent was quick

to point out, "is not what was advanced by Mr. Chawan on Monday (Sept. 6) when he said that it had been to forestall a Pakistan attack on India. But today's is the correct explanation.

"The appreciation here was that the Pakistan attack toward Akhnur, in the Chhamb sector, endangered the whole Indian position in Kashmir and India had to enlarge the war or run the risk of losing Kashmir by Pakistan's military action".

The London 'Globe and Mail' of Sept. 8, also carried a similar despatch from New Delhi, asserting that: "In analyses being made here of the motives for the Indian assault on Pakistan, greater emphasis is put upon the danger to the Indian position in Kashmir presented by the Pakistani attack toward Akhnur.

MARCH ON JAMMU

"From Akhnur, the Pakistanis would have been in a position to push the few remaining miles to Jammu, the winter capital of the State, and that would have cut off Srinagar and the Vale of Kashmir, the heart of the State and of the discord, from India".

The very next day, after India announced its invasion of Pakistan on Sept. 6, 'The Times'

service, in a despatch from New Delhi dated Sept. 7, put the record straight by pointing out: "In the chronology of the escalation of this conflict, India, unfortunately from its point of view, has to its discredit each overt step. India was the first country to cross the cease-fire line: India was the first to use airpower, because without it India could not have held off the Pakistani armour in Chhamb: India was the first to enlarge the war beyond Kashmir".

(MORNING NEWS, 23th Sept., 1965)

India steps up Genocide of Kashmiri Muslims

RAWALPINDI, Sept. 27: Having lost the war on the Indo-Pakistan battle front, India has opened a new front—actually reactivated one against the Muslim population. It has stepped up its genocide of Kashmiri Muslims in the hope that "the only way to end the Kashmir problem is to end the Kashmiris".

The story of the organised burning of the Srinagar suburb of Batmalu has already been disclosed to the world outside by foreign correspondents. The unleashing of the reign of terror has also been confirmed by the Indian leader, Miss Mirdula Sarabai, in letters to the members of the Indian Cabinet.

Her letters disclosed the sordid conspiracy of the Indian rulers to reduce the Muslim majority of Kashmir to a minority through eviction and murder.

Consequently, Miss Sarabai was thrown out of Kashmir and has not been permitted to speak up since.

PILLAGE, LOOT, RAPE

During the past three weeks hundreds of Kashmiri houses have been burnt to the ground—about 440 in the summer capital of Srinagar alone—and scores of others in 50 to 70 villages of the Valley.

There are also eye-witness accounts of pillage, looting and rape.

Indian officials claim that Pakistani 'infiltrators' started the fire, but both extremists and moderate Kashmiris and the victims themselves claim that the Indian Army was responsible for these ravages.

UN MUST COME

At Magam Village, 10 miles outside Srinagar, a foreign correspondent, Critchfield, was detained at the local police station after photographing some 40 burnt houses. An Indian police officer refused to discuss how the blaze started.

A bearded follower of Sheikh Abdullah told the American correspondent: "The UN must come and see what is happening to our people. This is the beginning of a large-scale genocide."

Another follower of Sheikh Abdullah had this to say: "The people are terribly afraid of

being exterminated by India. Nobody can talk of amity. We are losing our young men. The masses now are all for Pakistan." (Richard Critchfield in a despatch dated Sept. 1, 1965, to the Washington "Evening Star").

SARABHAI'S REPORT

The Indian leader, Miss Mridula Sarabhai, an old time friend of the late Mr. Nehru, in her Kashmir situation reports has underlined the threat of genocide which the Muslims of Kashmir are facing.

She has pointed out that "under the cover of operations against the infiltrators, an all-out attempt is being made to give the people a taste of India's might—the Army and outside police are operating communally. It is believed that a genocide of Muslims is under way.

"Authorities feel panicky and operate in a brutal way. Mr. Sadiq, not allowed to meet the people, is only available to outsiders. He has been politically annihilated and Mir Qasim, known to be a cruel man, is being built up.

"There is common belief here that so long as Mr. Dhar, the State Home Minister, continues to direct the operations, the Muslims are in danger.

"The conditions in the Poonch and the adjoining area are even worse, where an atmosphere of mutual hostility has developed. This gives an opportunity to the Army to blow up the villages, raising a huge refugee problem. If not stopped, the plan to change the complexion of the population may go through."

Miss Mridula Sarabhai then goes on to describe the *modus operandi.* Before starting the operation, the Indian Army authorities make arrangements for the evacuation of Hindus and then set fire to the villages. It is easy to conclude that India is "following the Jan Sang programme of turning the state into a Muslim minority area.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

Following is an eye-witness account of the burning of Batmalu, one of the biggest suburbs of Srinagar. "14-8-65 11.45 a.m. Batma uvacated under orders of the Indian Army, each house being searched and a fire bomb placed. Maps of Batmalu being made by Army authorities. It is rumoured that Batmalu will be set on fire by the Army because during the attack on the district police lines on the 12/13 August night the Indian Army and Police were fired upon from houses in Batmalu.

"6.30 p m. Batmalu sealed off and surrounded by the Indian Army. Petrol pumped on the houses with a hose pipe and set ablaze by the Army. Fire brigades not allowed to enter the area. Civilians trying to salvage their belonging shot at. The wounded left there to be burnt alive.

"Visited Batmalu on 15.8.65 four hundred and thirty-nine houses burnt to ashes. Three mosques also burnt. Colossal damage to property. Many people feard burnt alive as the Army stopped people entering or leaving Batmalu. More than 4,000 persons rendered homeless.

"If India denies these facts and keeps alleging that the fire was caused by the Mujahids, let the UN Secretary-General immediately send an impartial team of observers to interview the fire victims and find out for themselves how many persons perished in the fire.

"Indian occupation forces have embarked upon scorched earth policy. So far, Gung Bagh, Birdoo, Diyaarwun, on the outskirts of Srinagar, which are hundred per cent Muslim areas have been burnt down by the Indians.

"The Srinagar Brigadier visited Chattabal area on 15-8-65 and ordered it to be vacated. Chattabal too is likely to be set on fire.

India's Solemn Pledges on Kashmir

India's right-about-face on Kashmir within a few years has hardly a parallel in contemporary real-politik. This has not happened on the sly but within sight and hearing of the world.

For over half-a-dozen years since it manoeuvred the State's 'accession' to itself, India kept telling the world from national and international platforms that for the final accession of Kashmir State it was pledged to go by the wishes, ascertained under impartial auspices, of the people of Kashmir themselves. Until the wishes of those people were thus ascertained, the question of accession, therefore, remained open.

One has only to recall some of these pledges (as has been done in the following pages) to see how solemnly, how reassuringly and how responsibly India committed itself to that position.

But then suddenly it shifted its ground. It revoked all its 'pledges not only to Pakistan, but to the people of Kashmir and to the world at large' (as Mr. Nehru had put it). It

began to say that Kashmir was an integral part of India; that the question of any plebiscite just did not arise. No attempts at direct negotiations and no mediation efforts by the U.N. and other friendly countries have since succeeded in reclaiming it to the agreed principles, and to its own former undertakings.

Mr. Nehru once said: "The issue in Kashmir is whether violence and naked force should decide the future or will of the people." His and his followers' dicision seems to have been that it should be the former.

Indian Prime Minister's Telegrams to British and Pakistan Prime Ministers

October 27, 1947

"I should like to make it clear that the question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India. Our view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or State must be decided in accordance with the wishes of people, and we adhere to this view."

Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, replying to Kashmir Maharajah's request for accession to India

October 27, 1947

"In consistence with their policy that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."

Indian Prime Minister's Telegram to Prime Minister of Pakistan

October 28, 1947

"In regard to accession also, it has been made clear that this is subject to reference to people of State and their decision."

Indian Prime Minister's Broadcast to the Nation from All-India Radio

November 2, 1947

"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given (and the Maharajah has supported it) not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the U.N. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people, and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer.

"We are anxious not to finalize anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to be given to the people of Kashmir to have their way. It is for them ultimately to decide."

"And let me make it clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the accession must be made by the people of State. It is in accordance with this policy that we have added a proviso to the instrument of accession of Kashmir."

Indian Prime Minister's Telegram to Pakistan Prime Minister

November 4, 1947

"I wish to draw your attention to broadcast on Kashmir which I made last evening. I have stated our Government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave final decision to the people of Kashmir. I further stated that we have agreed on impartial international agency like U.N. supervising any referendum.

"This principle we are prepared to apply to any State where there is a dispute about accession. If these principles are accepted by your Government there should be no difficulty in giving effect to them."

Indian Prime Minister's Telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan

November 8, 1947

"....where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is

the same as State's, the question whether State has finally acceded to one or other Dominion should be ascertained by reference to the will of people."

Indian Prime Minister's Letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan

November 21, 1947

"Kashmir should decide question of accession by plebiscite or referendum under international auspices such as those of United Nations."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in Indian Constituent Assembly

November 25, 1947

"In order to establish our bonafides, we have suggested that when the people are given the chance to decide their future, this should be done under the supervision of an impartial tribunal such as the United Nations Organization. The issue in Kashmir is whether violence and naked force should decide the future or the will of the people."

Indian Prime Minister's Telegram to Pakistan Prime Minister

December 12, 1947

"We have given further thought, in the light of our discussion in Lahore, to the

question suggested by Pakistan of inviting U.N. to advise us in this matter. While we are prepared to invite UNO observers to come here and advise us as to proposed plebiscite, it is not clear in what other capacity the U.N. help can be sought...

"....I confess, however, that I find myself unable to suggest anything beyond what I have offered already, namely, to ask U.N.O. to send impartial observers to advise us regarding the plebiscite."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Constituent Assembly of India

March 5, 1948

"Even at the moment of accession, we went out of our way to make a unilateral declaration that we would abide by the will of the people of Kashmir as declared in a plebiscite or referendum. We insisted further that the Government of Kashmir must immediately become a popular government. We have adhered to that position throughout and we are prepared to have a plebiscite, with every protection for fair voting, and to abide by the decision of the people of Kashmir."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Constituent Assembly of India

March 5, 1948

"....Ultimately there is no doubt in my mind that, in Kashmir as elsewhere, the people

of Kashmir will decide finally, and all that we wish is that they should have freedom of decision without any external compulsion."

White Paper on Kashmir, issued by Government of India, 1948

"The question is to be decided finally in a free plebiscite, on this there is no dispute. There will be no victimization of any native of the State, whatever his political view may be, and no Kashmiri will be deprived of the right to vote."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar's Address in the Constituent Assembly May 27, 1949

"No doubt we have offered to have a plebiscite taken when the conditions are created for the holding of a proper, fair and impartial plebiscite. But if the plebiscite produces a verdict which is against the continuance of accession to India of the Kashmir State, then what we are committed to is simply that we shall not stand in the way of Kashmir separating itself from India."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement at Perss Conference in London, January 16, 1951, reported in "The Statesman", New Delhi

January 18, 1951

"....We all agreed that it is the people of Kashmir who must decide for themselves about their future externally or internally. It is an obvious fact that, even without our agreement, no country is going to hold on to Kashmir against the will of the Kashmiris."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Indian Parliament

February 12, 1951

"We had given our pledge to the people of Kashmir, and subsequently to the United Nations; we stood by it and we stand by it today. Let the people of Kashmir decide."

Indian Prime Minister's Address at a Public Meeting in Srinagar, June 4, 1951, reported in "Hindu", Madras

June 5, 1951

"First of all, I would like to remind you of the fateful days of 1947 when I came to Srinagar and gave the solemn assurance that the people of India would stand by Kashmir in her struggle. On that assurance, I shook

Sheikh Abdullah's hand before the vast multitude that had gathered there. I want to repeat that the Government of India will stand by that pledge, whatever happens. That pledge itself stated that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide their fate without external interference. The assurance also remains and will continue."

Indian Prime Minister's Report to the All-India Congress Committee, in "The Statesman", New Delhi

July 9, 1951

"Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a prize for India or Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future. It is here today that a struggle is being fought, not in the battlefield but in the minds of men."

Krishna Menon's Press Statement in London, reported in "The Statesman", New Delhi

August 2, 1951

"It is not the intention of the Government of India to go back on any commitment it has made. We adhere strictly to our pledge of plebiscite in Kashmir—a pledge made to the people of Kashmir because they believe

in democratic Government ...We do not regard Kashmir as a commodity to be trafficked in."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement, as reported by "Amrita Bazar Patrika", Calcutta

January 2, 1952

"Kashmir is not the property of either India or Pakistan, it belongs to the Kashmiri people. When Kashmir acceded to India, we made it clear to the leaders of the Kashmir people that we would ultimately abide by the verdict of their plebiscite. If they tell us to walk out, I would have no hesitation in quitting Kashmir...

"We have taken the issue to the United Nations and given our word of honour for a peaceful solution....As a great nation, we cannot go back on it. We have left the question for final solution to the people of Kashmir and we are determined to abide by their decision."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Indian Parliament

June 26, 1952

"If, after a proper plebiscite, the people of Kashmir said: 'we do no want to be with India', we are committed to accept it though it might pain us. We will not send an army

against them. We will accept that, however hurt we might feel about it, we will change the Constitution, if necessary.

"India is a great country and Kashmir is almost in the heart of Asia. There is an enormous difference not only geographically but in all kinds of facts there. Do you think [in dealing with Kashmir] you are dealing with a part of U.P. or Bihar or Gujrat (Provinces of India)."

Indian Prime Minister's Speech at a Public Meeting in New Delhi, as reported in the "Times of India", Bombay

July 7, 1952

"In any event, from the start India was committed to the principle of letting the final word regarding accession rest with the people of the princely states and there could be no getting away from that commitment. In fact, that was why India had accepted Kashmir's accession only provisionally in 1947, pending the expression of the will of the people."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Indian Parliament

August 7, 1952

". . . . With all deference to this Parliament, I would like to say that the ultimate decision will be made in the minds and hearts of the men

of Kashmir and not in this Parliament or at the U.N. . . .First of all, let me say clearly that we accept the basic proposition that the future of Kashmir is going to be decided finally by the goodwill and pleasure of her people. The goodwill and pleasure of this Parliament is of no importance in this matter, not because this Parliament does not have the strength to decide the question of Kashmir, but because any kind of imposition would be against the principle that this Parliament holds. . . . If, however, the people of Kashmir do not wish to remain with us, let them go by all means; we will not keep them against their will, however painful it may be to us. We want no forced marriages, no forced unions . . . .

"I want to stress that it is only the people of Kashmir who can decide the future of Kashmir. It is not that we have merely said that to the United Nations and to people of Kashmir; it is our conviction and one that is borne out by the policy that we have pursued, not only in Kashmir but everywhere. Though these five years have meant a lot of trouble and expense, and in spite of all we have done we would willingly leave Kashmir if it was made clear to us that the people of Kashmir wanted us to go. However sad we may feel about leaving, we are not going to stay against the wishes of the people. We are not going to impose ourselves on them at the point of the bayonet.

"I started with the presumption that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide their own future. We will not compel them. In that sense, the people of Kashmir are sovereign."

Joint Communique by Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan
August 20, 1953

"The Kashmir dispute was specially discussed at some length. It was their firm opinion that this should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbances to the life of the State. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite. Such a plebiscite had been proposed and agreed to some years ago. Progress, however, could not be made because of lack of agreement in regard to certain preliminary issues. The Prime Ministers agreed that these preliminary issues should be considered by them directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to this. These agreements would have to be given effect to and the next step would be appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator."

Indian Prime Minister's Letter to Prime Minister of Pakistan
September 3, 1953

"... We suggested the salutary rule that the Plebiscite Administrator should be chosen from

some small and more or less neutral country of Asia or Europe. There are many such countries and there should be no difficulty in finding an eminent and impartial person from among them.

"As a result of the plebiscite over the entire State, we would be in a position to consider the matter, so that the final decision should cause the least disturbance and should take into consideration geographical, economic and other important factors.

"I should like to make it clear that there is no intention on my part to exclude the U.N. from this question of Kashmir. The Plebiscite Administrator would function under U.N. supervision but it seems to me quite obvious that while the U.N. can be helpful, any settlement must depend upon the consent and co-operation of India and Pakistan. Therefore, it is for us to agree and not to look to the U.N. to produce some settlement, withont our agreement.

"... If we aim, as we must, at closer and co-operative relationship between India and Pakistan, we must find a solution of the Kashmir problem which is not only satisfactory to the people as a whole there but is also achieved without bitterness and sense of continuing wrong to India or Pakistan.

"... Obviously, the Kashmir problem is of high importance; in some way the most important problem before us, and we must tackle it."

Indian Prime Minister's Letter to Pakistan's Prime Minister November 10, 1953

"You refer to the question of regional plebiscite. I can only repeat what I endeavoured to put before you when we met. Our object is to give freedom to the people of Kashmir to decide their future in a peaceful way so as to create no upset, as we said in our joint statement.

"Therefore, I had suggested that the plebiscite should be for the State as a whole and the detailed result of the plebiscite would then be the major factor for the decision to be taken. The detailed result will give us a fairly clear indication of the wishes of the people not only in the State as whole but in different areas."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Indian Parliament February 22, 1954

"[The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir] did not come—it cannot come—in the way of our observing our international commitments in regard to a plebiscite, in regard to anything."

Indian Prime Minister's Speech, as reported in the "Times of India" May 16, 1954

"India will stand by her international commitments on the Kashmir issue and implement them at the appropriate time."

"The repudiation of international commitments would lower India's prestige abroad."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Indian Council of State

May 18, 1954

"Every assurance we have given, every international commitment we have made in regard to Kashmir, holds good and stands. Difficulties have come in the way and may come in its fulfilment, but the difficulties are not of our seeking but of others. But so far as the Government of India are concerned, every assurance and international commitment in regard to Kashmir stands."

Indian Prime Minister's Statement in the Indian Parliament

March 31, 1955

"....Kashmir is not a thing to be bandied about between India and Pakistan but it has a soul of its own and an individuality of its own. Nothing can be done without the goodwill and consent of the people of Kashmir."

Letter from Government of India to U.N.

December 31, 1947

"....The people of Kashmir would be free to decide their future by the recognized democratic method of plebiscite or referendum, which in

order to ensure complete impartiality may be held under international auspices.

"This was also in accordance with Mahatama Gandhi's view, since he had stated that the Indian Government sent troops by air to Kashmir telling the Maharaja that the accession was provisional upon an impartial plebiscite being taken of Kashmir irrespective of religion."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar at the Security Council
January 15, 1948

"In accepting the accession they [the Government of India] refused to take advantage of the immediate peril in which the State found itself and informed the Ruler that the accession should finally be settled by plebiscite as soon as peace had been restored. They have subsequently made it quite clear that they are agreeable to the plebiscite being conducted, if necessary, under international auspices."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar at the Security Council
January 15, 1948

"On the question of accession, the Government of India has always enunciated the policy that in all cases of dispute the people of the State concerned should make the decision."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar at the Security Council
January 15, 1948

"....We have no further interest, and we have agreed that a plebiscite in Kashmir might take place under international auspices after peace and order have been established."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar at the Security Council
January 15, 1948

"....Whether she [Kashmir] should withdraw from her accession to India, and either accede to India or remain independent, with a right to claim admission as a member of the U.N.—all this we have recognised to be matter for unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir after normal life is restored there.

"We desire only to see peace restored in Kashmir and to ensure that the people of Kashmir are left free to decide in an orderly and peaceful manner the future of their State. We have no further interest, and we have agreed that a plebiscite in Kashmir might take place under international auspices after peace and order have been established."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar at the Security Council
January 15, 1948

"The question of the future status of Kashmir *vis-a-vis* her neighbour and the world at large

and a further question, namely, whether she should withdraw from her accession to India and either accede to Pakistan or remain independent with a right to claim admission as a member of the United Nations—all this we have recognized to be a matter for unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir after normal life is restored to them."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar at the Security Council
February 3, 1948

"....As the Security Council is aware, the Government of India is fully committed to the view that, after peace is restored and all people belonging to the State have returned there, a free plebiscite should be taken and the people should decide whether they wish to remain with India, to go over to Pakistan, or to remain independent, if they choose to do so."

Gopalaswami Ayyangar at the Security Council
February 6, 1948

"...When the emergency has passed and normal conditions are restored, she will be free, by means of a plebiscite, either to ratify her accession to India, or to change her mind and accede to Pakistan, or remain independent. We shall not stand in the way if she elects to change her mind. That, I think, is the proper description of India's attitude."

Sir Benegal Rau at the Security Council

February 7, 1950

"It is, therefore, clear that the admission of representatives from any particular State into the Indian Constituent Assembly did not necessarily imply accession. As I have said, Kashmir had this right to representation ever since April 1947; it acceded tentatively, in October 1947, so that the accession came after the grant of the right and not the other way round."

Telegram from Mr. Nehru to U.N. Representatives to India and Pakistan

August 16, 1950

"We have not opposed at any time an overall plebiscite for the State as a whole but you made some alternative suggestions because you came to the conclusion that there were no prospects of an agreement as to conditions preliminary to such a plebiscite....

"We have always recognised that any plan for a plebiscite should be such that the people concerned would be enabled to express their feelings freely and without fear....

"It has always been our view that, in the event of a plebiscite, the people of Kashmir should decide their future for themselves. Kashmiris who have gone out of the State should,

of course, be entitled to return for this purpose. But I do not think that others have any claim to participate in a plebiscite campaign."

B N. Rao in the Security Council

March 29, 1951

"The Constituent Assembly* cannot be physically prevented from expressing an opinion on this question if it so chooses. But this opinion will not bind my Government or prejudice the position of this Council."

Krishna Menon, at the U.N. General Assembly, referring to the Congo Problem

April 5, 1951

"Irrespective of the voting on this resolution, an abstention or two, the fact is that this is the law of the United Nations at the present time....My government has always taken the view that resolutions, if they are passed, must be implemented."

In Letter of September 11, 1951, addressed to the U.N. Representatives for India and Pakistan

"As regards paragraph 4, the Government of India not only reaffirms its acceptance of the principle that the question of the continuing accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir

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*Which was to be convened by the Kashmir National Conference for deciding the accession issue.

to India shall be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations, but is anxious that the conditions necessary for such a plebiscite should be created as quickly as possible."

Letter from Mr. Nehru to U.N. Representatives for India and Pakistan

September 11, 1951

" ......The Government of India agree that the Plebiscite Administrator should be appointed as soon as conditions in the State, on both sides of the cease-fire line, permit of a start being made with the arrangements for carrying out the plebiscite. To appoint the Plebiscite Administrator before would be premature."

"The Government of India would, therefore, prefer such a proposal to be omitted from the present document; it would be more appropriately included in proposals that deal specifically and in detail with the holding of the plebiscite and connected matters."

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit at the Security Council

December 8, 1952

"We do not seek to go behind the UNCIP resolutions, or to ignore the vital elements of principle contained in them..... We have always

adhered to the UNCIP resolutions. . . We cannot be a party to the reversal of previous decisions taken by the United Nations Commission with the agreement of the parties."

Krishna Menon at the Security Council

January 24, 1957

". . .I want to say for the purposes of the record that there is nothing that has been said on behalf of the Government of India which in the slightest degree indicates that the Government of India or the Union of India will dishonour any international obligations it has undertaken."

Krishna Menon at the Security Council

February 8, 1957

"It is possible for any sovereign state to cede territory. If, as a result of a plebiscite, the people decided that they did not want to stay with India, then our duty at that time would be to adopt those constitutional procedures which would enable us to separate that territory."

Krishna Menon at the Security Council

February 20, 1957

"The resolutions of January 17, 1948 and the resolutions of the UNCIP, the assurance given, these are all resolutions which carry a greater

weight—that is because we have accepted them, we are parties to them, whether we like them or not."

Krishna Menon at the Security Council
October 9, 1957

"...These documents (UNCIP reports) and declarations and the resolutions of the Security Council are decisions; they are resolutions, there has been some resolving of a question of one character or another, there has been a meeting of minds on this question where we have committed ourselves to it."

Krishna Menon, referring to Goa, as reported in "The Statesman", Delhi
January 19, 1962

"India believes that sovereignty rests in the people and should return to them."

U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan
January, 1948

"As a result of these conversations the Commission on December 11, 1948, communicated its proposals to the two Governments. The main points of those proposals were: that the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir would be decided by way of a free and impartial plebiscite, that the Secretary-General of the UN would nominate in agreement with the Commission a Plebiscite Administrator who would be a person

of high international standing and who would derive from the Government of Jammu and Kashmir the powers which he considers necessary to organize and conduct a free and impartial plebiscite.....

"Both Governments......accepted the proposals and declared the cessation of hostilities in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as from January 1, 1949."

U.N. Mediator Dr. F. Graham's Proposal to the U.N. September 7, 1951

"The Governments of India and Pakistan :

* * * * * *

"4. Reaffirm their acceptance of the principle that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the U.N."

Proceedings of the Security Council January - February, 1957

"On February 21, the Security Council requested its President (Gunnar Jarring of Sweden) to examine with the two Governments any proposal likely to promote settlement of the Kashmir issue having regard to the earlier resolutions of

the Council and the UNCIP. By an earlier resolution of January 24, 1957, the Council had affirmed its old stand to determine Kashmir's future by plebiscite and declared that any action by the Kashmir assembly and its support by the parties would not constitute disposition of the State in keeping with that principle."

Resolution adopted by the Security Council on January 24, 1957

"The Security Council :

"Having heard statements from representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir ;

"Reminding the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in its Resolutions of 21 April 1948, 3 June 1948, 14 March 1950 and 30 March 1950, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan Resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations;

"Reaffirms the affirmation in its Resolution of March 30, 1951 and declares that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" and any action that Assembly may have taken or might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof, or action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the Assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle;

"Decides to continue its consideration of the dispute."

The Department of Films & Publications
Government of Pakistan
October 1965

Extracts from recent Speeches and Statements of

SHEIKH ABDULLAH

and Foreign Press Comments

March–May, 1965

FOREWORD

SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH the former Prime Minister of Occupied Kashmir, recently toured some of the Middle Eastern and European countries, visiting the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, France and Britain. During his stay abroad he met President Gamal Abdul Nasser of the U.A.R., President Ben Bella of Algeria, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and held talks with very important Government officials of these countries. In Britain he met some prominent Labour members of the British Parliament. He had also the opportunity to meet the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, when the latter was on a visit to Algeria.

To the surprise and chagrin of the Indian Government, the Sheikh was received with open arms wherever he went. The Governments of the U.A.R., Algeria and Saudi Arabia provided all facilities to him and people not only welcomed him whole-heartedly but listened with

profound attention to the words of this redoubtable leader of the Kashmiris and champion of the liberty of all down-trodden nations. Sheikh Abdullah discussed the seventeen-year old problem of Kashmir with the heads of the States he visited and their prominent leaders, elucidating his view-point. He also indicated the factors which made the solution of the problem difficult. He explained how the Kashmiris had been deprived of their legitimate right of self-determination.

Sheikh Abdullah held Press conferences in Cairo, Algiers, Jeddah, London and Paris. The Kashmiris held receptions in his honour in London, Nottingham and Birmingham. He addressed the "Rabita-e-Alam-e-Islami Conference" in Jeddah. On all these occasions he forcefully advocated the right of self-determination of his Kashmiri brethren. Far from being something one-sided—the fiery harangues of a man who undertook a long and arduous journey to present the case of Kashmir to the world forum—there was an overwhelming, spontaneous expression of views in all quarters, from rulers and leaders to the masses, in support of what he said. It appears the earnest advocacy of a legitimate cause had the effect it should have in awakening the conscience of people and acquainting them with the real facts which had hitherto remained concealed, or what is more

correct, contrived to remain so and deliberately suppressed to mislead the world. The revelation of the real facts had an electric effect, coming as a rude shock to all.

It is well worth knowing, therefore, what the Sheikh said in this historic whirling tour and what the rulers, statesmen leaders, and people the world over said about the Kashmir problem, showing how the wheel has come absolutely full circle, unmasking India out and out and showing it in its true colours.

The extracts in the following pages from the speeches of Sheikh Abdullah made in the countries he visited as well as the comments on them and the Kashmir problem show clearly the Sheikh's stand on Kashmir and the effect it has produced in the form of comments and opinions in the Press and elsewhere. It is evident from all this how the Kashmiris and their leader have been shabbily treated, shamefully deceived and ruthlessly trampled down.

The result of all this was inevitable. Exasperated by the speeches and exposure of the Sheikh, their tremendous effect upon the world, and puzzled by the frantic demands of the chauvinists in the country, the Indian Government had no recourse but to cancel all the endorsements in the Sheikh's passport and ordering his

post-haste return, with the result that he could not visit China, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and Jordan in accordance with his programme. The much vaunted democracy of India deprived this great freedom-fighter of his right of free movement. Thus the tour which began in March 1965 last, came to an abrupt end in April. As was expected and the Indian Government had, in fact manoeuvred, on his return on May 7, 1965, Sheikh Abdullah was taken from the Palam airport, New Delhi, to Madras and interned in Ootacamund.

There is nothing better than the speeches of Sheikh Abdullah, the acknowledged leader of Kashmir, and the comments of the Foreign Press thereon to show the real state of affairs in Kashmir and the issues involved. The extracts included in this brochure cast light on both and it is hoped they would do more than anything else to reveal the truth.

Department of Films and Publications

June, 1965

Sheikh Abdullah on Kashmir

SELF-DETERMINATION

"The Kashmir problem is not so complicated as it appears. Its solution is based on recognition by India and Pakistan of the right of Kashmiris to decide their future by themselves."

In an interview with "Al-Akhbar", Cairo, reported in the "Pakistan Times", Lahore, on March 4, 1965.

"The basic stand has always been that the inhabitants of the State alone are the masters of their fate. The right of self-determination is their non-transferable right which they cannot sacrifice for any one and at any price. We have been making sacrifices for this right since 1931."

In a message in Urdu published in "Mashriq", London, reported in the "Pakistan Times", Lahore, on March 11, 1965.

"India had pledged that the people of Kashmir will be given the right of self-determination. It is painful for me to see that India's prestige abroad was adversely affected by her denial of

this right to the people of Kashmir, for which they had fought and sacrificed since 1931."

At a reception in London as reported in " Dawn " on March 21, 1965.

"The problem is not to know whether it is India or Pakistan who will own Kashmir. Only self-determination can solve the problem."

To a Reporter of "Le Monde", Paris, as published by the 'Pakistan Times" on April 2, 1965.

"Everybody supports the right of self-determination for Kashmir which nobody considers a closed question or an integral part of India as is claimed here."

Exclusive interview with the Cairo correspondent of the "Guardian Express" as published in "Dawn" on April 5, 1965.

"Kashmir belongs to its people. It has been fighting for 30 years for its independence and sovereignty. Our people will continue to struggle as long as may be necessary. It should be pointed out that we are not more attracted by India than by Pakistan, nor are we the obstinate enemies of one or the other.

"All we ask of these two brother peoples is for them to understand the desire of the Kashmiri people to govern themselves and to enjoy their natural right, that of self-determination."

Interview at Jeddah, reproduced by "The Times of India", Bombay, April 19, 1965.

"When I pressed for final settlement of the issue in accordance with the principle of self-determination I was arbitrarily and unconstitutionally dismissed and along with many of my colleagues was arrested and detained for about eleven years."

Address to the Rabita-e-Alam-e-Islami in Mecca, reported in "Dawn" on April 28, 1965.

PROVISIONAL ACCESSION

"All agreements entered into with the Government of India were subject to final ratification by the people of Kashmir. That ratification has not come. There was an understanding between me and the Government of India, that if it stuck to its promises and did not interfere in our internal affairs, then at the time of the referendum, I will support accession to India. This was the contract between the people of Kashmir and the Government of India. My misfortune is that one party has broken all pledges. It interfered with our inter-

nal autonomy. It says there is now no need for a plebiscite. You cannot now ask other party to stand by the agreement"

To an Indian correspondent in Cairo, reported in "Dawn" on March 9, 1965.

"People of Kashmir had never taken accession to India as final. They always considered it as provisional. There was enough proof on the records of the Indian Government and the Indian Parliament that the accession was provisional. That attitude of the Kashmiris has not changed."

In the BBC Home Service, reproduced by "Dawn" on March 13, 1965.

"When we went to the Security Council, it was decided that the question of Kashmir will be settled through a free and impartial plebiscite. That settled the previous controversies and we should have proceeded from that point.

"It was India which drafted the resolution leaving the decision about the future of Kashmir to its people. Both India and Pakistan became a party to hold plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations.

"Suddenly we started feeling that India's opinion is changing. India was going back on

her words. India wanted me to support her on this and it is from here that my quarrel with India started.

"While we were in jail it was not that they always maltreated us. They also kept sounding if we had softened and weakened.

"Neither tyranny nor allurements could make us deviate from our path. We have no enmity with anyone. We only want to exercise our right. Once that right is achieved I will have no objection if the people freely join this country or that."

In a speech at Nottingham reproduced in "Dawn" on March 16, 1965.

CHANGE IN NEHRU'S MIND

"Kashmir was evidently weighing on Nehru's mind. The awful prospect of never-ending conflict with China and of permanently bad relations with Pakistan filled him with a gloom. I had the impression that he was asking himself whether he was responsible for leaving behind him a situation so dark and ominous. He wanted to act with urgency and to repair the damage."

In an interview with Guy Wint, published in "The Observer", London, on March 4, 1965.

"Even Mr. Nehru had realized in his last days that India was pursuing a wrong policy in Kashmir and had revised his thinking and a wind of change started blowing.

"Late Mr. Nehru had realized that repressive methods would not solve the problem. I and other colleagues were released and invited to discuss the problem with Mr. Nehru. Pandit Nehru agreed with me and it was with his blessings that I went to Pakistan in May, 1964 in order to canvass some approach with President Ayub. Fortunately I found President Ayub extremely responsive and we mutually agreed on summit conference between him and Mr. Nehru. Unluckily at this juncture Mr. Nehru passed away and progress of my mission held up."

Address to the Rabita-e-Alam-e-Islami in Mecca, reported in "Dawn", on April 28, 1965.

USE OF FORCE IN KASHMIR

"By using force and repression India could not win the hearts of Kashmiris which were crying for a solution of the Kashmir dispute.

"Nehru is dead but his successors are trying the same old ways we are perfectly familiar with. But the people of Kashmir will not rest

content until they have achieved the rightof self-determination.

"Occupied Kashmir had virtually been reduced to a 'Prison House' and there was total absence of civil liberty. There was Section 144 throughout the State and even raising of slogans was considered to be a violation of the Defence of India Rules.

"India was there in Occupied Kashmir because it had force behind her."

At the Reception in Delhi, reported in "Dawn", on February 12, 1965.

"I think Pakistan is ready for talks and when I met President Ayub Khan I found him prepared for a solution satisfactory for the three parties."

Talking to Reporters at London Airport—published in "Dawn" on March 9, 1965.

Pakistan's Stand and Plebiscite

"It was, therefore, essential that the main cause of friction between the two countries, namely the Kashmir dispute, should be resolved. The only way to do so was a democratic way of plebiscite."

In a meeting in Nottingham—published in "Dawn", on March 15, 1965.

"Today in Kashmir the struggle for freedom is regarded as the greatest crime."

Speech in Birmingham, published in "Dawn" on March 15, 1965.

"How to force India to fulfil the promise? Pakistan says that a plebiscite should be held on Kashmir. We have no quarrel there. But the quarrel is with India."

Address to a gathering of Kashmiris in Birmingham, on March 18, published in "Dawn", Karachi.

"After Mr. Nehru's death the situation is still worse. The new administration under Prime Minister Shastri is contemplating integrating Jammu and Kashmir by force. This kind of unilateral action is very dangerous. This will be bad for India and Pakistan if no immediate solution is achieved."

At a gathering of Indian Students in London—published in "Dawn" on March 18, 1965.

"I do not want to play with emotions but let us face realities. We do not hate India, but we did not make these sacrifices all these years for our right in vain, and we will not leave it now because of the fear of India's might. It is

wrong to say that Pakistan is instigating us. When we raised the voice for self-determination 35 years ago Pakistan was not even born at that time."

At a reception in London, published in "Dawn" on March 21, 1965.

"Kashmir could not be integrated in India just by passing laws. Such action only vitiated the atmosphere."

At a meeting in London, published in "Dawn" on March 25, 1965.

"My hopes did not, however, materialise as the new Government of India only a few months after its assumption of Office started vigorous process of merging the State with India. This led to further tension between the two countries and agony to the people of Kashmir.

"In pursuance of this policy a fresh wave of repression was let loose in Kashmir and thousands of freedom-fighters were arrested for the sole crime that they considered the Kashmir question still open and subject to plebiscite as agreed by parties concerned.

"Accordingly as representative of the people of Kashmir I have been explaining the Kashmir question from the view point of the people themselves, but it appears to me that even

innocuous presentation of the Kashmir case or the people's point of view is not palatable to certain elements in India where the campaign of vilification and character assassination has again been started against me. It is very unfortunate that the Indian Government yielded to this pressure and placed restrictions in my travel and cancelled endorsements of my passport and that of my party except for Saudi Arabia. Cancellation of endorsements to visit these countries is extremely painful to our religious sentiments."

Address to the Rabita-e-Alam-e-Islami in Mecca, reported in "Dawn" on April 28, 1965.

"In fact representatives of India, Pakistan and Kashmir should meet and round table should provide an acceptable solution."

Interview to French Newspaper "Le Monde".

The Lion of Kashmir Demands Right of Self-determination for the Kashmiri People.

"SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH, ex-Premier of Kashmir, has demanded right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir for the sake of maintaining world peace and solidarity of Afro-Asian countries. He said that his visit to Cairo had given him an opportunity to present the case of his country to the responsible Arab leaders and explain to them the point of view of the Kashmiri people.

"The Lion of Kashmir declared at a Press conference yesterday that the solution of the Kashmir problem would not be in the interest of Kashmiri people only; it will also remove the cause of differences between the two sister countries—Pakistan and India. He expressed the hope that the Kashmir problem would be discussed in the second conference of the Afro-Asian countries which would be held in Algiers in June next. Sheikh Abdullah commended the Arab leaders for their struggle to restore the rights of Palestinian people and other peoples who are struggling against Imperialism."

('AL-GAMHURIYA", Cairo, March 7, 1965.)

"A settlement of the Kashmir problem is crucial for the Indian sub-continent. Hitherto, international opinion has remained quiescent

mainly because there was no obvious solution acceptable to India, Pakistan and Kashmir. The importance of Sheikh Abdullah's new initiative reported elsewhere in "The Observer" is that he offers a hopeful way out of this impasse by proposing that Kashmir should become a bridge between India and Pakistan instead of remaining as a gulf between them.

By linking Kashmir's security to both its neighbours, the Sheikh has emphasized what should always have been clear that final aggreement must carry the good will of all three parties to the dispute But to get enough steam behind his initiative, Sheikh Abdullah will need strong international backing. Britain should take the lead in promoting such a diplomatic offensive. This should be diplomatically feasible, since the Sheikh's original initiative had the blessing of the late Mr. Nehru and has received a friendly response from Pakistan's President, Field Marshal Ayub Khan

("THE OBSERVER", March 14, 1965.)

"The new element in Sheikh Abdullah's attempt to bring about a settlement of the 18-year old Kashmir dispute is that he insists on a solution acceptable to three parties involved—Pakistan, India and Kashmir. He is unwilling to go into detail, beyond insisting on Kashmir's right to self-determination."

"He is pursuing with quite tenacity what looks like the most hopeful attempt so far to take the bitterness out of the old quarrel between India and Pakistan. In simple terms, it is self-determination for Kashmir."

("EASTERN DAILY PRESS" March 15, 1965.)

"Sheikh Abdullah hopes that Britain and the Commonwealth will take the initiative by opening negotiations for such a meeting. Sheikh Abdullah's visit may not achieve this, but it has already reminded many people that Kashmir is a dispute which is primarily not about rivers or mountains, but about people and there is no doubt that the Sheikh is entitled to speak for these people more than anybody else."

("THE GUARDIAN" March 17, 1965.)

ABDULLAH CALLS FOR KASHMIR DISPUTE SOLUTION

New York, Thursday

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, a former Prime Minister of Kashmir, yesterday urged India and Pakistan to arrange a conference to seek an early solution to their long-standing dispute over the State.

Writing in the American quarterly, "Foreign Affairs", Sheikh Abdullah recounted the suffering and anguish the dispute had imposed on the

people of Kashmir and declared: "We must hope and pray that wiser counsels will prevail and that the two countries will speedily seek a way out of this impasse."

Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir from 1948 to 1953, was kept in detention by Indian authorities from 1953 until his release in 1964."

("BAGHDAD NEWS", March 19, 1965.)

THE LION OF KASHMIR SPEAKS IN LONDON

"Sheikh Abdullah has warned that if plebiscite is not carried out in Kashmir, there would be great danger of Kashmir being turned into a battle-ground between India and Pakistan forces.

This statement was made at a Press conference called by the Lion of Kashmir in London. He said the people of Kashmir must be given the right of self-determination and an opportunity to express their opinion freely. The Lion of Kashmir will leave for Algeria during this week. From there he will proceed to Mecca to explain his point of view regarding Kashmir."

("BAGHDAD NEWS", March 20, 1965.)

"His initiative is different from previous ones ....Sheikh Abdullah hopes that India will now

recall its earlier pledges to agree to any solution which genuinely fulfils the aspirations of Kashmir to determine its own destiny."

("TIMES OF CEYLON", March 22, 1965.)

"Though temporarily over-shadowed by the crises of Vietnam and Malaysia, the Kashmir question still remains one of South-East Asia's most important problems......... It is to be welcome, therefore, that Sheikh Abdullah, the former Prime Minister of Kashmir and Mirza Afzal Beg, his former Revenue Minister, have gone abroad to remind the world that the fate of Kashmir is a matter for the Kashmiris and that they alone have the right to determine there future .... After Sheikh Abdullah's long imprisonment, Mr. Nehru, perhaps plagued by bad conscience was prepared to review the situation and Pakistan showed a clear desire to settle the issue. The date for a meeting between President Ayub and Mr. Nehru had already been fixed when the latter died........ Mr. Shastri not only failed to preserve the *status quo*, but even took the retrogressive step of integration, Kashmir still closer as part of India......sooner or later India will have to allow the Kashmiris their right."

("EASTERN WORLD". London. April 8, 1965.)

"Sheikh Abdullah did not do or say anything during his peregrinations abroad that was materially different from what he had been saying or doing in India."

("THOUGHT", London, April 16, 1965.)

Sheikh Abdullah says emphatically that the people of Kashmir will regain their independence. Jeddah (AFP):

"Sheikh Abdullah, a former Prime Minister of Kashmir, who is at present in Saudi Arabia to perform Haj, made a statement to the Special Representative of Agence France Presse. He says he had an opportunity to meet His Majesty King Faisal, and explained to him the Kashmir problem, requesting him to extend the help of his Government to our just cause. Assuring me of his complete support, King Faisel said, "You know the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, as a member of the U.N., supports the right of self-determination for all the nations and their right to sovereignty under the U.N. Charter. It is but natural that my Government should support this right of self-determination in all parts of the world and in the interest of all nations. Violation of this right goes against the very principle in which we believe and which one upholds at all costs."

"AL-AMAL", Tunis, April 20, 1965.)

"By taking this foolish step to arrest Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the Government of India will not succeed in suppressing the reality which he represents. The reality being that they refuse to submit to the Indian domination ......The world public opinion is not as simple as that, for it is absolutely clear that the Government of India was irked when Sheikh Abdullah exercised his right to freely expound his country's cause...... the world now is fully aware as to where the people of Kashmir stand and where the Government of India stand."

("Al-Manar," Jordan, May 9, 1965.)

"The Indian Government knows well that the people of Kashmir do not want Indian domination. Hence they arrested the "Lion of Kashmir" who by advocating plebiscite is bound to bring their intentions into the open and unmask their plans.

("AL-MANAR", Jordan, May 6, 1965,)

"It is questionable in fact that the Sheikh would have made any trouble in Kashmir if he had been allowed to return now. He has discouraged any public agitation since he was released last year.

But if the Government had not re-arrested him, Mr. Shastri would once again have been accused of weakness.

The Prime Minister is trying to retain some room for manoeuvre over the Rann of Kutch and may have calculated that the show of strength is much less dangerous than the obduracy in the dispute over the Rann to which he is being pushed by his party."

"Times", London, May 10, 1965.

"Unfortunately India's detention of the former Prime Minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, has just brought to a disagreeable close the most hopeful effort at a solution in many years......It was never clear whether Nehru was prepared to go beyond internal autonomy—similar to that enjoyed by such Indian states as Sikkim—and to some degree yield Indian sovereignty over Kashmir. But after Nehru's death, it became evident that Prime Minister Shastri has neither the will, nor probably, the prestige and power to attempt this kind of settlement."

"New York Times," May 13, 1965.

"But apparently the colonial vestige lingers on. Last month Prime Minister Shastri's Government cancelled all endorsements in the passport of Sheikh Abdullah, who had been Kashmir's Prime Minister in the early fifties until he decided that the best thing for the population was greater autonomy from India...

Now the outspoken Lion is recaged. His crime : a recent meeting in Algiers with Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai which reportedly was to have been followed by an invitation to Peking."

"Washington Post", May 13, 1965.

"The banishment of Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmiri leader has solved no problems. This Mr. Shastri undoubtedly realizes......"The Kashmir issue is, in fact, back where it was before Abdullah's release last year ....Unless his advocacy of Kashmir's right of self--determination is criminal in itself, there is not a single charge that could stick in court; this may explain the restraint New Delhi has chosen."

"Economist", May 14, 1965.

"We believe that the Government of India by arresting Sheikh Abdullah and restricting his liberty, has taken a sinister step ....What is important is that Sheikh Abdullah had done nothing outside India which was not consistent with his attitude inside India itself........Thus it seems to us that Premier Shastri has resorted to this step to appease the Hindu extremist elements. The fact that Sheikh Abdullah returned to India on his own, proves his bona-fides—a matter which also renders his arrest by India an act of gross immorality."

"Al-Hayat," Beirut.

Sheikh (Leader) of Kashmir returns to India as he has done nothing that might harm India.

"We believe that the Indian Government has not taken the right step in arresting the Lion of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and detaining him in a village near Madras in South India.

Sheikh Abdullah has spent ten years in prison for the sake of his movement and for the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. He was released last year and remained in India until March. He left India for Saudi Arabia to perform Haj. He availed himself of this opportunity to visit Western Europe, Algiers and other countries before the Islamic Congress in Mecca ended. What perturbed India was his meeting with the Chinese Premier in Algiers.

The extremist opposition raised this question and demanded strong action against Sheikh Abdullah by compounding his passport and preventing him from visiting Holy Places.

Sheikh Abdullah could refuse to go to India, and get a passport from any country he liked. But he did not do so and insisted on going back

to India on the assumption that he had done no harm to that country. Day before yesterday he was arrested on his return. Four people were killed in a demonstration which was staged as a protest against the arrest of the Sheikh.

The important thing is that Sheikh Abdullah's attitude is not different from that he had taken while in India. He has been saying the same thing which he said in India. As for his meeting with the Chinese Premier, there is nothing sinister about it. Indian laws did not prevent a responsible Kashmiri leader like Sheikh Abdullah from meeting any body he liked. Sheikh Abdullah could meet the Chinese Premier in secrecy, if he desired to do so.

It appears to us that Premier Shastri took this step in order to appease the Hindu extremist opposition, and we hope that he would withdraw his order as soon as possible. Because Sheikh Abdullah returned to India of his own freewill, this is a proof of his good intentions towards India.

"Al-Amal," May 18, 1965

Story of Kashmir Freedom

The denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir is one of the greatest contemporary problems of a people's liberation.

This drama of stuggle against repression did not begin, as some might think, in 1947, when the States of India and Pakistan came into being.

The recent flare-up was only the climax of a 34-year old freedom movement, led by the redoubtable Sheikh Abdullah, affectionately called the "Lion of Kashmir", by his fellow Kashmiris.

Groaning under the weight of one of the most abominable tyrannies in history, the anger of the long-suffering people of Kashmir erupted in 1931 in open protest against Dogra rule.

After a mass meeting on June 21, 1931, and the arrest of a leader in Srinagar, the crowd gathered outside the jail, and was met with merciless firing (July 13, 1931) which killed twentyone and wounded at least a hundred.

Once the martyr's blood had flowed in the streets of Srinagar, the movement gathered momentum, and, under the brave leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, civil liberties were won for

the down-trodden people during the next thirty years.

In 1946, when the rest of the sub-continent was striving for freedom, in Kashmir, too, Sheikh Abdullah launched a Quit-Kashmir movement against the Dogra rulers, but was promptly jailed.

While all the Kashmiri leaders were in jail, the British decided to partition the sub-continent into Pakistan and India and to quit. The 565 princely states were advised to accede to one or other of the Dominions with due regard to the communal composition, the wishes of the people, and the geographical locations. The Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, warned the princes: "You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible."

The Maharajah, however played for time and entered into a standstill agreement with Pakistan, effective from August 15, 1947 (which India did not agree to make), allowing Pakistan to operate the railways and the postal services in the State.

Everyone thought that this was a prelude to accession to Pakistan, but the Maharajah

had other ideas He launched a fierce programme to exterminate the Muslims of the State.

According to an article by a special correspondent, published in the London Times, (on October 10, 1948): "In Jammu alone 237,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated, unless they escaped to Pakistan over the border, by the forces of the Dogra State headed by the Maharajah in person and aided by the Hindus and Sikhs."

The people naturally rose in desperation—first in Poonch in June 1947, because in these areas lived numerous demobilized soldiers of the second world war.

The liberation movement soon spread all over the State.

The co-religionists of the Kashmiris, on the borders of Pakistan, watched this unequal fight of the people against the army of a tyrant, but could not stand idle for long. On October 22, 1947 they jumped into the fray and in two days an Azad (Free) Kashmir Government was set up.

On October 25, the Maharajah fled from Srinagar. which was threatened by the liberation army.

He approached the Indian Government for help but the help was made conditional upon the accession of Kashmir to India. This was dutifully agreed to by the Maharajah.

But even in the act of accepting accession the British Government of India added a proviso to the effect that the people of Kashmir would be consulted on this issue at a later date, in order to regularize accession.

Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, in his reply to the Maharajah's request for accession, wrote on October 27, 1947:

"In consistence with their policy that, in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."

While the legal formalities of the accession were being gone through in New Delhi, Indian armed forces were flying to the rescue of the deposed ruler in Kashmir.

The people's army of Azad Kashmir, however, gave a stiff fight to the Indian regulars, and annexed large tracts of the country.

"India at once rushed to the United Nations to appeal against Pakistan for alleged complicity in outside intervention in Kashmir (January 1, 1948).

In May 1948, when the security of Pakistan was threatened by the activities of the Indian forces, Pakistan was compelled to move a number of her military units into Kashmir to hold certain defensive positions.

A United Nation's Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was formed, and, after an on-the-spot investigation by them, two important resolutions were adopted by the Security Council on August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949.

According to them, a cease-fire was to be ordered immediately in Kashmir by both India and Pakistan, the two were to withdraw their forces and a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations was to be held to decide the question of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan or India.

Both countries agreed, but India with mental reservations. A cease-fire was effected but India did not withdraw her forces, although Pakistan did.

Mr. Nehru had said explicitly in a communication to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on October 31, 1947: "Our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order is restored, and leave the decision regarding the future of the State to the people of the State is not merely a promise to your government but also the people of Kashmir and to the world at large."

Since then, the U.N. has made a series of efforts to get this promise fulfilled but all in vain. It designated Admiral Nimitz as the Plebiscite Administrator and requested India and Pakistan "to submit to arbitration the differences existing between them". Again in 1950, the Security Council sent its President, Gen. McNaughton of Canada, to seek a solution of the problem. In 1950, Sir Owen Dixon was appointed U.N Representative to strive for an "expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute". He was followed by Dr. Frank Graham as U.N. Representative. Next, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring was requested to seek an answer to this vexed question, and then Dr. Graham was asked to try again, but they all failed

because India would not agree to their proposals, while Pakistan did.

Meanwhile, inside Kashmir the repression continued unabated against the people yearning to exercise their right of self-determination.

On August 9, 1953, Sheikh Abdullah with his colleagues was put in jail, where he languished till 1963 (with a few day's break in 1958.) The people who rose in protest were suppressed with such severity that over 1,500 were killed and thousands wounded or imprisoned.

The temporary release of Sheikh Abdullah was the signal for another uprising, and more repression.

On December 27, 1963, the Muslims of Kashmir were stunned to hear of theft of a sacred relic from the shrine in Hazratbal and the burning of a mosque in Kishtwar. The people expressed their suppressed rage against the tormentors in the form of an open revolt.

The re arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg on May 8, 1965, on return from pilgrimage to Mecca and a tour of the world, led to widespread strikes, rallies, marches and violent protests.

On June 8, an Action Committee, supported by nine other political and religious organizations, launched a Civil Disobedience Movement.

On August 9, 1965, a secret radio station, calling itself the "Voice of Kashmir" came on the air and announced the formation of a Revolutionary Council in Occupied Kashmir. Two days later, Reuter placed the fighting in the outskirts of Srinagar, about 80 miles away from the cease-fire line.

Some recent events are worthy of note to understand the present happenings.

In May 1965, India occupied some military posts in Kargil sector on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line. These were vacated on the intervention of the U.N. Secretary-General, but were again occupied on August 15.

On August 24, Indian forces shelled Awan, a village in West Pakistan, causing a number of deaths.

On August 25, again the Indians crossed the cease fire line and occupied two posts in the Tithwal sector on the Pakistan side. Again on the same day, Indian forces crossed the cease-fire line on the Uri-Poonch sector and seized some Pakistani posts, and on September 1, took Haji Pir Pass.

Foreign Minister, Z. A. Bhutto, reported to the Security Council on September 6 :

"The acts of aggression and grave violations of the cease-fire agreement have created a situation in which the human rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, as well as the security of Pakistan, are equally threatened.

"In response to this grave situation, created by the Indian forces, the Azad Kashmir forces, backed by the Pakistan army, were forced to cross the cease-fire line in the Bhimber sector in exercise of the rights of self-defence, for the first time since the cease-fire agreement was reached 17 years ago, and after repeated Indian armed attacks and occupation of Azad Kashmir territory by the Indian Army.

"This crossing took place on the 1st of this month. India decided to escalate the conflict by mounting air attack against Pakistan forces on the same day, compelling Pakistan Air Force to intervene. On September 4, India carried the escalation a stage further. The Indian Air Force twice violated Pakistan territory in strength escorted by MIG aircraft. And now on Sunday night, India has mounted a treacherous armed attack and this time on West Pakistan."

The spectacle of a proud nation rising in self-defence against a dastardly intruder on its sacred soil, is well reflected in the following representative selections from the Pakistan Press. It is made up of editorial comments and the statements of prominent public leaders. Quotations from some particularly illuminating documents and journalistic reports have also been added to help the reader in appreciating the full drama of the eventful seventeen days from September 6 to September 23, 1965.

CHRONOLOGY

March 16, 1846.—Treaty of Amritsar by which Kashmir was given to Gulab Singh by the British for Rs. 75 lakh (1.5 million Dollars).

June 21, 1931.—Protest meeting in Srinagar followed by arrests.

July 13, 1931—Police firing on crowd outside Srinagar Jail which killed 21 and injured about 100.

Through 1946. — Quit-Kashmir campaign launched against Dogra Rule by Sheikh Abdullah, who was then jailed.

June, 1947.—Popular revolt in Poonch.

August 15, 1947.—Standstill agreement between Pakistan and Maharajah. The agreement was not entered into by India.

October 21, 1947.—Co-regligionists of Kashmiris on Pakistan borders jumped into fray.

October 24, 1947.—In two days Azad (free) Kashmir Government was set up. Maharajah fled from Srinagar and approached Indian Government for help. The help was granted

conditional upon the accession of Kashmir to India. Maharajah agreed.

January 1, 1948.—India rushed to the U.N. to appeal against Pakistan.

May 5, 1948.—When Pakistan security was threatened by the activities of the Indian forces, Pakistan was compelled to move a number of her military units into Kashmir to hold certain defensive positions.

January 1, 1949.—Cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir.

August 13, 1948—January 5, 1949.—Two resolutions were passed by Security Council after an on-the-spot investigation by U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan.

According to the two resolutions it was decided that:

(i) there should be immediate cease-fire in Kashmir by India and Pakistan;

(ii) both were to withdraw forces: and

(iii) a free and impartial plebiscite under the U.N. was to be held to decide the question of Kashmir's accession to India or Pakistan.

July 27, 1949.—Karachi agreement demarcating cease-fire line.

Jan-Feb. 1950.—Security Council's President, Gen. McNaughton of Canada, came to India and Pakistan to seek solution of the problem.

April 12, 1950.—Sir Owen Dixon was appointed UN Representative to strive for "an expeditious and enduring solution" of the dispute.

May-Aug. 1950.—Dixon mediation effort unsuccessful.

April 30, 1951.—Dr. F. Graham appointed UN Mediator.

October 15, 1951.—Graham submitted first report to UN.

December 18, 1951.—Second Graham report submitted.

April 22, 1952.—Third Graham report described little progress.

July 24, 1952.—India grants special status to Kashmir within Indian Union. Monarchy abolished.

September 18, 1952.—Fourth Graham report said, chief point of disagreement was on size and character of forces to remain on each side after demilitarisation.

December 23, 1952.—Security Council asks India and Pakistan to negotiate on basis of Graham report. Pakistan accepts, India rejects resolution.

March 27, 1953.—Dr. Graham reports failure.

August 9, 1953.—Sheikh Abdullah with his colleagues was put into jail as he would not support India. He was kept in jail till 1963 (with a few days' break in 1958).

People who rose in protest were suppressed with such severity that 1,500 were killed and thousands were wounded or injured.

December 27, 1963.—Theft occurred of a sacred relic from the shrine of Hazratbal.

May 8, 1965.—Re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg on return from pilgrimage to Mecca and a world tour leads to widespread strikes, rallies, marches and violent protests. Firing in Srinagar, 8 killed and 39 held.

May 17, 1965.—India attacks and occupies 3 Pakistani posts in Kargil.

June 8, 1965.—Action Committee, supported by nine other political and religious organisations, launches a civil disobedience movement.

June 30, 1965.—India vacates Kargil posts at the instance of the UN but leaves behind minefields.

August 5, 1965.—Plebiscite Front calls for strikes and demonstrations on August 9, to demand self-determination.

August 9, 1965.—A secret radio station calling itself "Voice of Kashmir" came on the air and announced the formation of a Revolutionary Council

August 14, 1965.—Batamalu, a suburb of Srinagar, was set on fire by Indian army as a reprisal against freedom-fighters.

August 15, 1965.—The military posts in Kargil vacated by India on UN Secretary-General's intervention.

August 24, 1965.—Indian forces shell Awan, a village in Pakistan, causing a number of deaths.

August 25, 1965.—Indian troops cross the cease-fire line and occupy two posts in Tithwal

sector on the Pakistan side. Again on the same day Indian forces cross the cease-fire line on the Uri-Poonch sector, and seize some Pakistani posts.

September 1, 1965.—India takes Haji Pir Pass.

September 1, 1965.—Azad Kashmir forces supported by Pakistan troops cross cease-fire line and occupy Chhamb and Dewa in Bhimber Sector; India throws I A F into fighting.

September 4, 1965.—India carries escalation a stage further by violating Pakistan air space. IAF planes are escorted by MIG aircraft.

September 5, 1965.—Azad forces capture Jaurian. India rejects UN call for cease-fire. Pakistan asks UN to make serious efforts to settle basic issue.

September 6, 1965.—Indian forces launch a 3-pronged surprise attack on Lahore; enter a few miles, but suffer heavy casualties. Lose 22 fighter jets. President Ayub declares emergency. Pakistan exercises right of self-defence under U.N. Charter.

September 9, 1965.—U Thant arrives for talks with President Ayub.

September 11, 1965.—Pakistan offers 3-point proposal for plebiscite in Kashmir under the supervision of an Afro-Asian Force.

U Thant leaves for Delhi.

September 14, 1965.—IAF bombs civilians in Peshawar and Kohat.

September 17, 1965.—U Thant asks UN to order cease-fire.

September 20, 1965.—Security Council demands cease-fire by 12 noon, September 22, 1965.

September 21, 1965.—U Thant says: "It is dangerous to leave Kashmir issue unsolved."

September 22, 1965.—Cease-fire announced—effective 3 a.m. September 23.

World Powers in UN promise to seek immediate settlement of the Kashmir dispute before Pakistan agrees to cease-fire.

(The Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, September, 1965.)

Revolutionary Council Formed

Muzaffarabad, Aug. 9: A radio station describing itself as "Sada-e-(Voice of) Kashmir" this evening announced the establishment of a Revolutionary Council in Occupied Kashmir to lead an all-out war of liberation against Indian imperialism

It declared: 'The battle for freedom has been joined. The Kashmiris must rise to a man-to-man-fight for their honour. We shall treat as traitors all those who betray the cause of freedom at this crucial moment in the history of Kashmir.

"Sada-e Kashmir" said the establishment of the Revolutionary Council for Occupied Kashmir marked the 12th anniversary of the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah on August 9, 1953, for his refusal to accept India's colonial rule and for his insistence on the right of the Kashmiris' deciding their own wishes.

The broadcast said, Kashmiris had no complaint against the people. Actually they were grateful to large segments of the Indian people for their sympathy.

Kashmir's fight was against the Indian Government's imperialistic designs, which the Kashmiris were determined to frustrate at all costs.

"Morning News," August 10, 1965.

Decisive hour has struck in Kashmir

The Azad Kashmir President, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan, said: "At this critical hour when thousands of our brethren are locked in a life and death struggle in Occupied Kashmir, the people on this side of the cease-fire line are bound to come to their rescue. Obviously, we cannot leave them at the mercy of a brutal force."

"Morning News"—Editorial, August 10, 1965.

Death-Knell for Indian Imperialism

The establishment of a Revolutionary Council in Occupied Kashmir to lead an all-out war of liberation against Indian imperialism appears to be the forerunner of another gorsy reminder to the world conscience of its failure to do right by the Kashmiris. Crushed and pulverised for eighteen long years by a diabolical from New Delhi, unmindful of its own solemn international commitments and a strong world opinion, the freedom-fighters in Kashmir

have, in desperation, resorted to an unequal fight. For every unarmed Kashmiri, India has got four armed men in their land. How soon the Revolutionary Council will sound the death-knell of Indian imperialism in the unfortunate Valley is hard to foretell. But it certainly has placed a time-bomb which will keep on ticking till its mighty blast throws the Indians to where they belong.

"Morning News," August 10, 1965.

Mir Waiz welcomes Revolt against India

The veteran exiled Kashmir Leader, Mir Waiz Mohammed Yousaf Shah, has called upon his followers in Occupied Kashmir to rise in open revolt against India and her hirelings.

In an appeal to the people in Occupied Kashmir issued to Press here today, Mir Waiz expressed tremendous satisfaction over the declaration of war against India by the people of Occupied Kashmir. He hailed the formation of the Revolutionary Council to guide the liberation movement in Occupied Kashmir as a very wise move and a decision of great historical importance.

The declaration of 'jehad', Mir Waiz said, was historically inevitable and a logical conclusion of India's foolishness, obduracy and

unreasonableness. "When an aggressor refuses to get out of a country, you have to throw him out," he added.

"Morning News", August 10, 1965.

Revolutionary Council Hailed—East Wing Kashmiris Pledge Support

Dacca: A meeting of the East Pakistan United Kashmir Front held here on Monday extended its full co-operation to the newly established Revolutionary Council in Indian held Kashmir.

The meeting was held here to observe 'black day' to mark the 12th Anniversary of the illegal arrest of Sheikh Abdullah by the Indian rulers in 1953. The President of the Front Mr S. M. Abdullah Latif was in the chair.

Welcoming the formed Revolutionary Council, the meeting assured active help and co operation to the freedom-fighters of Kashmir.

The meeting in another resolution, condemned the illegal internment of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg by the Indian rulers and demanded their immediate release.

"Jang", Editorial—August 11, 1965.

Revolution

In Occupied Kashmir the setting up of a Revolutionary Council and the installation of a clandestine radio station has been reported. This means that the freedom-fighters have determined to liberate Kashmir at all costs. If this movement spreads then India, despite her power, cannot prevent the Kashmiris from achieving their right of freedom. In fact, this is the only way for the Kashmiris to achieve their freedom. The UN resolutions have had no effect on India previously and it is not expected that the UN can persuade India to grant the Kashmiris their right in the future.

"Dawn", Editorial—August 11, 1965.

Kashmir Strikes for Freedom

The formation of the Revolutionary Council and the setting up in the form of the National Government of a parallel political authority in Occupied Kashmir represents an act of faith and courage. The great step forward shows that far from having been demoralised by imperialist repression, the freedom movement fully retains the glorious spirit of defiance which has sustained it during the last 18 years. It is, nevertheless, clear that the impulse to resort to an armed struggle in an organised

way—as distinct from the urge that has led to quite a few sporadic cases of counter-violence in the last few years—is a new element in the situation. Ever since the cease-fire, the main-stream of the freedom movement has been conducting the struggle for the peoples' right of self-determination on a political plane.

Call for Revolution in Kashmir

Today the freedom-loving people of Kashmir have come out into the open to fight for liberty, following in the footsteps of the brave Algerians. Their patience is exhausted and they are prepared to stake their lives in the struggle for independence. The writing on the wall is evident, and the wise course for India would be to settle honourably the question of granting the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris. They should be allowed to choose their future course themselves in the light of the past resolutions of the Security Council. If not, the Kashmiris will undoubtedly attain their objective, but India will, forever, lose in the eyes of the world whatever little reputation and prestige she still has.

"Kohistan", Editorial— 11th August, 1965.

Heroic Struggle begun with Glory—Ibrahim

Rawalkot, Aug. 12: Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, a former Azad Kashmir President,

in a message yesterday, assured the freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir that Kashmiris on this side of the cease-fire line were fully with them in this heroic struggle.

He said: "This historic struggle for freedom has begun with glory. Indian persecution of the people of Kashmir for the last so many years has forced them to rise in revolt against tyranny.

"India has criminally refused to fulfil promises of a plebiscite held out to the Kashmiri people 15 years ago.

"The United Nations has similarly failed to come to the aid of the suppressed Kashmiris. The Indian Government has imprisoned the beloved leaders of the Kashmiri people. All this tyranny, combined with ruthless repression and inhuman atrocities on the people, has resulted in the present revolt."

"Morning News", 13th August, 1965.

No Pakistani neglectful of Kashmir

Broadcasting to the nation on Independence Day, August 14, the Governor of West Pakistan said:

"Even a minor attack on our independence can never be tolerated by us. This is the policy of President Mohammad Ayub Khan and an article of faith with every citizen of this country. Needles to point out, if national independence goes, nothing remains. I assure my Kashmiri brethren that no Pakistani has ever been neglectful of their case. We specially remember them during our Independence Day celebrations.

"In fact we regard our own independence as incomplete due to their subjugation. Pakistan has been trying to solve this problem through peaceful means but unfortunately Indian intentions have been quite dubious from the very start."

"Morning News", 17th August, 1965.

Kashmir is not Hyderabad

"If the world opinion then overlooked and abetted Indian aggression in Hyderabad, there seems no earthly reason why it shonld be a silent spectator of Indian expansionism now. According to the very Act of Parliament which freed India from British bondage, it was envisaged that all princely states in the sub-continent were to accede to either India or Pakistan on the basis of geographical proximity and the wishes of the people. When India invaded Hyderabad, it

cunningly called it a 'police action'. She said Hyderabad was the 'belly' of India and the overwhelming population of the State comprised Hindus while the Ruler was a Muslim. There was then no talk of sweet—or shall we say, sour—nonsense about Indian secularism. Faced with a similar situation in Kashmir where the Ruler is a Hindu and the overwhelming population (90 per cent) Muslim, the double-faced, perfidious Indian leadership has all of a sudden remembered that their country is 'secular'. They have conveniently forgotten that unbreakable ties of history and geography, religion and culture bind the Kashmiris and Pakistanis together. Their policy of 'head-I-win, tail-you-lose' may click in a nursery, but not in international relations. Clearly, they were either wrong then or they are wrong now."

"Morning News", 17th August, 1965.

Freedom-fighters assured of Support

Rawalpindi, Aug. 18 : The Kashmir Affairs Minister, Chaudhry Ali Akbar, declared here today that freedom-fighters of Jammu and Kashmir would not find Pakistan wanting in their hour of need.

In a statement issued today, the Minister said that in their moment of trial the freedom-fighters were entitled to sympathy and support

of all those who believe in the peeple's right of self-determination.

"Pakistan Times", 19th August, 1965.

The Editor, *Morning News* of Karachi, wrote in a signed article: "The central issue in Kashmir today is the right of a people to be rid of alien domination. Betrayed by New Delhi, let down by the U.N., scarcely taken notice of by the world, the people of Kashmir, driven by desperation, are up in arms against their colonial masters.

"The spectacle is familiar enough. One saw it in Indo-China, in Algeria, in British India and Burma, and Indonesia, Morocco, Tunisia, in fact, in all lands where colonialism once ruled the roost.

"With the post-war wind of change sweeping over these lands, the clamour for freedom mounted. Where the paths of negotiation were blocked, as in Indonesia or Algeria, the people had recourse to arms to drive away their oppressors."

"Morning News", 22nd August, 1965.

Bhutto's Support for Mujahideen

"The cease-fire line which India describes as an unshakable boundary is a temporary arrange-

ment. It could very well have been drawn further down inside Occupied Kashmir.

"Mr. Bhutto said Pakistan had been accused by India of sending armed 'infiltrators' into Occupied Kashmir. The charge was absurd because Pakistan was anxious to solve the Kashmir problem peacefully.

'How can Pakistan commit aggression against its own people?' he asked.

"There is no difference in the people of Azad Kashmir and Occupied Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are indistinguishable, inseparable and indivisible.

"They have the same feelings, the same religion, the same families. No arbitrarily drawn boundary line can separate them. The cease-fire line is not like the boundary dividing Germany from France.

"What is happening in Kashmir is that the people are fighting for their freedom. 'It was strange' Mr. Bhutto said, 'that India which herself fought so heroically against foreign domination should label the freedom-fighters as 'infiltrators' and saboteurs'.

"It reminded one of the patriots of Algeria who were dubbed by the French as hirelings of

the UAR and nearer home the patriots of Bengal were called 'terrorists'.

"The entire world—Africa, Asia, Europe, the USA, Latin America—are supporting the people of Kashmir as it has supported the people of Angola, Mozambique and other foreign colonies.

" 'It would be unnatural for me to say', he added, 'that we don't sympathise with and support the freedom-fighters.'

" 'How can we waver in our support and be ambivalent to them when we support freedom movements everywhere in Africa, Asia and Latin America?' "

"Morning News", 26th August, 1965.

Ever Forward—Never Retreat

"The Mujahideen who have launched this *Jehad* deserve not only prayers for their victory, but, regardless of creed and nationality, all men in the world, who believe in freedom and justice, should come forward without any hesitation to give them material as well as moral support in as many ways as possible. On this day of Prayer, called by the Voice of Kashmir Radio, we ask all mankind to ponder whether more expediency or considerations of international diplomacy should prevent any honourable nation

or any conscientious world statesman from ranging itself or himself against the Indian tyrant and aggressor and calling upon him to quit the land which he holds under his heel through sheer brute force."

"Dawn," Editorial, 27th August, 1965.

Bhutto refutes Indian charges

"The Foreign Minister Mr Z.A. Bhutto, said tonight that by no stretch of imagination can the blame for whatever was happening in Occupied Kashmir be put on Pakistan.

"Mr Bhutto was refuting Indian allegations that Pakistan had master-minded the revolt in Kashmir.

"The Foreign Minister told PPA that this was not the first instance that the people of Occupied Kashmir had grown restive against Indian subjugation.

There was historical precedence, clear enough to show that wherever the people have been kept in subjugation, they have waged struggle to free themselves; and the people of Kashmir were no exception to the rest of the world.

"He added: 'The people of Kashmir have only decided to intensify their liberation struggle which they have been carrying on for the past 17 years.'

"The Foreign Minister said: 'The Indians must search their souls. If they crush the people, arrest their leaders and keep them in jail for years, the people will naturally revolt.'

"He said Pakistan had all along tried for a peaceful solution of the dispute. 'We knocked at the door of the United Nations again and again, used diplomatic channels and all other means for a peaceful settlement, but to no avail.'

'Our record is clear and showed that we have not attempted settlement by force,' Mr. Bhutto said.

'If Pakistan wanted to involve herself in an armed revolt, we would have done it earlier and not waited this long', the Minister pointed out."

"Morning News", 13th August, 1965.

Another Indian Concoction

"To describe the freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir as 'infiltrators' from Pakistan is nothing but the ugliest travesty of truth. With

the Indian troops massed so heavily along the Kashmir border, it would sound incredible that the one thousand or more Pakistanis, armed with light machine-guns, have crossed into Indian-Occupied Kashmir.

"The whole world knows of the restraint that Pakistan exercised when the Indian forces were being annihilated at the NEFA border in 1962. If Pakistan believed in armed intervention, that undeniably was the opportune moment. True to its principle of seeking a peaceful settlement of international problems, Pakistan did not exploit the favourable military situation. Why should Pakistan send its 'infiltrators' to Indian Occupied Kashmir now?"

"Morning News", (Editorial) 13th August, 1965.

Struggle for Freedom

"In the different parts of Occupied Kashmir the Indian forces are showering bullets over the freedom-fighters, but with God's grace the freedom-fighters are gaining victories in all their attempts. In order to find an excuse for their failures the Indians have started the baseless propaganda that Pakistanis have infiltrated into Kashmir under the garb of freedom-fighters. We wish to inform the Indian propagandists that neither are we desirous to fight with India, nor do we feel any necessity to

send "infiltrators" from Pakistan. An army which is known for its "gallantry" in NEFA, and later in the Rann of Katch, can be dealt with rightly and effectively by a small team of freedom-fighters. The heroic activities of the Mujahideen deserve all applause for their valiant efforts. The 100 million people of Pakistan will not feel at ease unless the Revolutionary Council achieves its aim, and the Kashmiri people are freed from the clutches of Indian imperialism.

(Anjam Editorial, 12th August 1965.)

Bhutto's Comment on Indian Plea to U Thant

"Mr. Bhutto said: 'Pakistan believes in a policy of peace. Pakistan has contributed to the maintenance of peace in the sub-continent as well as internationally. It is a part of our policy to strengthen peace.

"For these important reasons, despite grave provocations from India, despite Indian aggression in Junagadh, Manavadar, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir, we have not retaliated by resorting to the use of arms. Instead, time and again, we have gone to the United Nations and patiently pleaded for a peaceful and honourable settlement of Jammu and Kashmir. We have gone to the United Nations so often

that India has begun to ridicule our approaches to the United Nations."

"Now you tell me that India has protested to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and asked him to intervene, otherwise India would choose to retaliate in its own fashion.

"Has India forgotten that it was less than a year ago when Pakistan sought 'sedulously' to involve the Secretary-General in this matter, and at that time it was India who categorically rejected this suggestion and said that no such dispute in Jammu and Kashmir existed which requires a solution?

"Why does India wonder now when the people of Jammu and Kashmir have been driven to a rebellion against their oppression and tyranny?

"The situation in Jammu and Kashmir is no different from any other part in Afro-Asia where the people struggling for freedom were left with no alternative but in the last resort to take courage in their hands and fight for freedom."

(Morning News, 13th August, 1965.)

Wazirpur (Barisal) Aug. 18: The Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, said here on Monday that Pakistan wants a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute, giving

the Kashmiri people the right of self-determination. He said, it was the Indian leaders who were responsible for the present uprising by the freedom-fighters in the held Valley.

Addressing a public meeting here, including Basic Democrats, Mr. Jabbar Khan deplored the Indian policy first of repression of Kashmiris and then of laying the blame for their struggle on Pakistan.

(Morning News, 19th August, 1965.)

Bhutto asks India to stop Bullying

"We have every sympathy for them. We have sympthy for all people who struggle for national liberation We sympathised with the Algerians and with others."

"The Foreign Minister, who was addressing a civic reception in his honour on Independence Day here said: "India thought threats worked," but declared, "We are not going to be frightened by threats. I want to tell Mr. Shastri and India that after all justice is sure to prevail against all unjust aims and deeds."

(Morning News, 16th August, 1965.)

India Cancels Ministerial Talks on Kutch

Karachi, Aug. 18 : India has called off the Indo-Pakistan ministerial meeting scheduled to be held in New Delhi on Friday on the Rann of Kutch Dispute.

The Indian High Commissioner here this morning handed over a message from India's External Affairs Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh to the Foreign Minister, Mr. Z. A Bhutto, which. *inter alia* stated that 'in view of the atmosphere created by the sharp deterioration of relations between India and Pakistan, we feel that there is no possibility of the meeting between the Ministers referred to in Article 3(1) of the Agreement dated June 30, 1955, between the Governments of India and Pakistan, resulting in a consensus.'

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto, in his reply to Sardar Swaran Singh, which was promptly handed over to the Indian High Commission this afternoon, termed India's decision to call off the meeting as "unilateral" and stated that by assuming "that there was no possibility of reaching a consensus on the Rann of Kutch dispute", India had "unfortunately prejudged the outcome of the meeting, which could only be known after our discussions had concluded."

(Pakistan Times, 19th Aug., 1965.)

No Talks in Delhi

The Indo-Pakistan Foreign Ministers meeting, scheduled to be held at New Delhi today, has been called off by India because of the "sharp deterioration of relations" between the two countries. One immediate result of the Indian back-out would be a worsening of that relation. The two Ministers, as Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto rightly pointed out in his letter to Sardar Swaran Singh, could have considered the causes of the "deterioration" in their relations and suggest measures to halt the trend. In fact, the present grim state of armed confrontation between the two countries rendered the meeting imperative....

Many Indian leaders, for instance, want that just as India after agreeing to the UN resolution on a plebiscite in Kashmir managed to back out of it, it should perform a similar word-eating feat with regard to the Kutch accord brought about by the efforts of the British Government.

(Morning News, (Editorial), August 20, 1965)

India and Pakistan on the brink of War

What has brought India and Pakistan to the brink of war is the thorny Kashmir issue. For eighteen long years the veritable time-bomb

has been allowed to tick ceaselessly, and unfortunate though it is, it may now explode any day unless an honourable and just solution is found immediately. It is not an over-simplification to state that the issue to be settled in Kashmir is liberation of people through exercise of the right of self-determination. included in the UN Charter and upheld by all nations, the principle of self-determination is on trial in Kashmir. Also on trial is the efficacy of the UN to implement its own resolutions, which have clearly supported the right of the Kashmiris to decide their fate.

Mr. Bhutto referred to a recent statement made by the Indian Premier, Mr. Shastri, and said, "Threats are not going to deter us".

"Pakistan," he said, "was quite familiar with these threats for 18 years and even before that."

"If India wants to make a scapegoat of Pakistan, and if she wants to unleash her pent-up frustration on Pakistan, the people of Pakistan are prepared to face the consequences."

Mr. Bhutto recalled that when the Rann of Kutch Agreement was reached, Premier Shastri had said that a war between India and Pakistan was unbelieveable as it would set the whole sub-continent ablaze.

That position stands It has not altered. A war between the two countries would set the sub-continent ablaze. It would be a war of extermination.

He appealed to India to desist from using the language of war and to talk with Pakistan on the basis of equality, justice and law of morality.

(Morning News, August 26, 1965).

Goodbye to Sanity

It is not Indian-trained irregulars but the Indian Army which violated the cease-fire line and occupied, for the second time, the three Pakistani posts in the Kargil area. It is the Indian Army which shelled a village not in the Azad Kashmir territory but well within the frontiers of Pakistan itself. It is the Indian Army again which crossed the cease-fire line in the Tithwal sector and occupied two Azad Posts. We are told that these tidings were received in India's Lok Sabha with cheers all round. May be, the last round of cheers, like the last laugh, has not yet been heard.

This deliberate escalation of the conflict comes as a result of an ill-assorted Indian policy whose major components seem to be : (a) The need for a political face-lift for India's leadership : (b) a chauvinistic, peppry diet for India's

restive masses; and (c) the yearning of the Indian Army to wash away the lingering stain of its military humiliations in the NEFA and Kutch encounters. It does not seem to occur to them that the running over of relatively undefended posts in the Kargil and Tithwal sectors will bring only a short-lived satisfaction, if any, to the Indian Army.

(The Pakistan Observer, (Editorial), Aug. 27, 1965).

India Responsible for Escalation—Bhutto

Mr. Z A. Bhutto said that Indian Defence Minister's statement that Pakistan had escalated the fighting in Kashmir was nothing more than the kind of glib assertion in which India had always excelled.

Mr. Bhutto continued : "To refresh Mr. Chavan's memory I might mention that it was India which crossed the cease-fire line and re-occupied the Azad Kashmir posts at Kargil which they had been persuaded by the United Nations to vacate. It was India again which occupied Azad Kashmir positions in Tithwal and launched offensive actions in the Uri-Poonch sector using her newly acquired mountain divisions with artillery. None of this amounted to escalation, according to Mr. Chavan. Not even the use of Indian Air Force Jet fighter-bombers

against our ground forces amounted to escalation

It is only when we launched an action to prevent further Indian aggressions did Mr. Chavan cry 'escalation'. Surely this is nothing but the perverse logic of the proverbial wolf in Aesop's Fables. It is such a pity that he has not been told that Pakistan is no lamb."

(Pakistan Times, September 3, 1965.)

The Crushing Reply

Unnerved by the valour and success of the freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir, the Indians attacked a few posts in Azad Kashmir. On their success on limited scale they became jubilant and shouted: "Offensive is the only means for defensive". India become oblivious of the fact that the formula which they adopted for themselves could also be operated on them by the valiant Pakistan forces. The Azad Kashmir forces helped by the Pakistani forces turned the scale of the war when they counter-attacked the Indians and drove them two miles behind the Indian Border in Bhimber, and captured two important posts across the cease-fire line. The anti-peace policy of India richly deserved this treat. If the Indian maniacs still go on to pursue such a policy, they will have to pay even heavier price which they have already paid in Chhamb and Deva.

(Nawa-i-Waqat (Editorial) Semptember 3, 1965.)

Reply to Aggression

The Defence Minister of India has admitted that whenever necessary India has violated the cease-fire line and will do so again. This reveals the mental make-up of a country for whom international pacts and agreements have no importance.

The Indian artillery was shelling a peaceful village in Pakistan. India's armies were crossing the cease-fire line, and capturing military posts in Azad Kashmir. And when the defenceless masses of Kashmir were delivered to the flames for the crime of seeking freedom, the Government and Press of India were vying with each other in preaching aggression.

Under the circumstances what can the freedom-lovers of Kashmir do except to stand up bravely against the tide of savagery ? And what other course was left to Pakistan except to fulfil her moral obligation by countering this violent aggression with the sword, because that is the only language that the aggressor understands ?

(Kohistan, (Editorial) September 3, 1965).

Escalation

Unable to cope with the mass uprising of the Kashmiri patriots all over the Valley and

even in the heart of Srinagar, the Indians cocked a smook at the sanctity of the cease-fire line a second time when they occupied several issolated Azad Kashmiri hill features. Pakistan could have avoided this, had she brought her air force into operation. She did not do so to prevent an extension of the conflict.

Faced with an almost simillar situation in the Chhamb sector, however, India quickly threw her air force into the fray—and was, of course, worsted in the bargain. But the fact remains that by being the first to use the air arm in the conflict over Kashmir, the Indian rulers have deliberately sought to add a new dimension to an already grim and explosive situation. If the attempt is to cow down Pakistan the venture must be adjudged a failure. There is, after all, a limit to Pakistan's endurance. No one must expect this country, however great its desire for peace, to go on putting up with one impudent provocation after another. If India wants war, she shall have it.

(Morning News, (Editorial) September 4, 1965).

Pakistan's Civilian Population Bombed

'Tell them to go to hell, if Indians deny civilian bombing"

"If the Indians even try to tell you that they have not bombed civilian targets inside Pakistan, you have my permission to tell them to go to hell" - Ray Meloni, correspondent of the American Broadcasting Corporation said in a recorded despatch of September 15.

"The Indians have, and I have seen it and I will show the films of shattered buildings and torn bodies of the victims, to prove it.

"Some nights ago the Indians bombed Sialkot, about five miles from the Indo-Pak border, and at least three miles from military targets. They killed about 20 people. A further 70 were injured. The bombs fell in the heart of the city, ripped a mosque into ribbons. I wept, yes, I cried with the survivors, because this is not war. This is deliberate terror.

"In twenty years of my journalism I have never seen troops with a higher morale and a greater sense of confidence than these Pakistanis. The might and hypocrisy of India are taking a drubbing."

The savagery and Brutality

India's aggressive dark designs against Pakistan have now become manifest and stand naked before the world. When the Indian rulers failed to suppress the fight for freedom in Occupied Kashmir, they shelled the village Awan Sharif on the Pakistan border, and killed many defenceless women, children and old men, in keeping with their lofty ancient traditions.

The victory achieved with the help of Pakistan by the Kashmiris against India in the triumphant capture of Jaurian, excited the worst brutish instincts of the Indians, and they threw all international laws to the winds, in launching an undeclared war on Pakistan.

The Indian rulers were living in a fool's paradise to think that the indiscriminate bombing of Lahore would spread panic among the people, and the Indian armed forces would be able to walk into Lahore.

But disappointment was in store for them. On the one hand, the dastardly attack fired the hearts of the gallant people of Lahore with greater zeal and desire for revenge against India, and on the other hand, the heroic army of Pakistan advanced victoriously, dashing into the dust the proud ambitious heads of India's war-mongers.

(Anjam, Editorial, 9th September, 1965.)

Bombing the Civilians

Badly mauled by our armed forces and haunted by humiliating defeats on land, air and sea, the war-lords in New Delhi have unleased barbaric bombardment of innocent civilians in the cities of Pakistan. Scores of men, women and children have lost their lives Numerous others have been grievously injured. Residential buildings have been razed to the ground. Even places of worship and learning have not escaped the cowardly attack of a cowardly air force.

We have no quarrel with the people of India. We do not covet an inch of their territory. But we certainly have a score to settle with the warmongers in New Delhi. They are the culprits, not the unthinking mercenary Indian airmen who carry out their orders. The answer to their inhuman actions lies with the gallant men of our Air Force. And they certainly are communicating it to them in unmistakable terms—not in the darkness of the night but in broad daylight. Our answer to the bombing of unarmed civilians is to wipe out the bases from which these aircraft take off. It lies in our proven ability to cripple, paralyse and destroy the sinews of the Indian war machine so endearingly nourished and nurtured by those who now sing the hymns of peace.

(Dawn, Editorial, 18th September, 1965.)

"Indian threats of War not to deter Pakistan" says Mohammed Ali
Full support to Kashmiris' Cause

Karachi, Aug. 24: Chaudhry Mohammed Ali, Convener of Nizam-i-Islam Party and a former Prime Minister of Pakistan, said here today the rulers of India should understand that no threats of war and aggression against Pakistan would ever deter Pakistan from aiding the just cause of the people of Kashmir.

In a statement to the Press he pointed out that war between India and Pakistan was no light matter. It would set aflame the whole sub-continent and bring untold misery and chaos. But if war was forced on Pakistan, the people of Pakistan would not flinch from it and would not rest until they had smashed once for all New Delhi's imperialist ambition of ruling over the whole sub-continent, Chaudhry Mohammed Ali added.

(Pakistan Times, August 25, 1965.)

West Wing PML President Condemns Indian Attack

Lahore, Aug. 25: Malik Mohammad Anwar, President of West Pakistan Muslim League, today severely condemned the Indian attack on the Pakistani village near Gujrat, and said that India was sadly mistaken if she thinks that

Pakistan could be cowed down by such aggressive activities.

In a Press statement issued here today, the President of the Provincial Muslim League said that the unprovoked and dastardly attack of the Indian forces on a village in Gujrat district had utterly shocked all Pakistanis.

He said that Mr. Shastri's threats to attack Pakistan and yesterday's aggression appeared to be links in the same chain.

(Morning News, August 26, 1965)

KASHMIR DAY

Lahore, Aug. 27: The observance of Kashmir Day in the province today manifested the mood of the nation in the face of Indian aggression in Kashmir and the shelling of village Awan, in Gujrat district, by Indian troops.

It was a day of highly charged tempers but complete unity. Political parties of all shades, and the public from all walks of life, took part in one way or the other to demonstrate their anxiety over the critical situation in India-held Kashmir and a determination to stand by their valiant brethren in their bid to throw back Indian aggression.

The provincial metropolis witnessed scenes reminiscent of the final phase of the Pakistan movement. People of all trades and professions came to the public meeting, and mass prayers marked the day, and proclaimed a new resolve for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute with India.

Almost everywhere the unanimous verdict was that Pakistan should no longer depend on the UN agencies for the settlement of the problem and everywhere the people demanded use of force against India and peldged to face the consequences like true sons of Islam.

But now that the issue has been joined, Pakistanis are determined not to lay down their arms till the curse of Indian tyranny and imperial adventure is removed for ever.

(Morning News, August 28, 1965)

Meetings and Prayers all over East Pakistan

Dacca, Aug. 29: A fervent appeal to the peace-loving countries in general and the Afro-Asian countries in particular, was made by the people of East Pakistan to help the freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir in their *Jehad* against Indian imperialism.

The appeal was made in the public meetings held in various places of the province on the occasion of "Kashmir Day" Friday last.

Pabna: According to a report received from Pabna, meetings were held after Juma congregations in every mosque of the town and the interior, where resolutions were passed condemning the atrocities perpetrated on the helpless Kashmiris by the Indian Army. Prayers for the "Shaheeds" were also offered.

(Morning News, August 30, 1965.)

All Parties solidly united on Kashmir Issue

Lahore, Aug. 29: A meeting of the local leaders of various political and non-political parties, held here in the Barkat Ali Hall condemned India's desperate endeavours to retain her stranglehold on Kashmir, supported the war of liberation re-started by the Kashmiris and assured them of all moral and material help.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the All-Pakistan Kashmir Committee and was presided over by Mufti Ziauddin Zia, Mufti-i-Azam of Kashmir, and Mian Manzar Bashir, of Council Muslim League.

Those who addressed the meeting included Mian Salahuddin, MNA, Sh. Rafiq Ahmad, President, MPA, Khan Mohammad Abdullah Khan, Convener, Liaison Committee of the All-Pakistan Kashmir Committee, Malik Aslam Hayat,

Malik Seraj Khalid, MPA, Master Tajuddin Ansari, Mr. Manzar Masud, General Secretary, Muslim Conference, Lahore, and Dr. Sanaullah, President, Anjuman-i-Naujawanan-i-Kashmir.

(Morning News, August 30, 1965)

Opposition leaders pledge complete support to Ayub

The Opposition leaders have whole-heartedly supported the retaliatory action by Pakistan to check Indian aggression on its borders.

Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, Chief of the Nizam-i-Islam Party, on Thursday called upon the nation to meet the Indian military challenge unitedly.

In a statement issued in Karachi, the former Prime Minister said: "Whatever our internal differences in the past, today they must be laid aside."

He said that the sanctity of the cease-fire line was gone and there was an open trial of military strength between Pakistan and India. Therefore, there was no choice for the people of Pakistan but to exert their full strength and drive out the Indian aggressors from the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, General Secretary of the Pakistan (Council) Muslim League, today declared that if India mistakenly throws a war on Pakistan it must keep in mind that the entire people of Pakistan will unitedly resist such aggression to the last man.

Maulana Bhashani's offer to send National Awami Party volunteers to help the Kashmiri freedom-fighters to vanquish Indian imperialism ought to spur the so far somnolent Awami League and the Pakistan Council Muslim League. He has not allowed his Party's political differences with the ruling Muslim League to taint its attitudes on national issues.

(Morning News, September 3, 1965)

East Wing acclaims firm response to Indian Aggression

Dacca, Sept. 3: The timely defensive action taken by the Azad Kashmir forces, supported by the Pakistan Army, in Kashmir have been widely acclaimed by the people of East Pakistan according to messages of congratulations pouring in from all over the province.

The Nazim-e-Ala of the Khaksar Movement in East Pakistan, Mr. Mohammad Seraj, in a statement said that the Khaksars of the Province would always be ready to fight the enemy.

He said that the whole nation was behind President Ayub Khan and would no longer tolerate the continued aggression from India.

A public meeting held at Panchagarh (Dinajpur) under the presidentship of Mr. Gamiruddin Pradhan, Senior Deputy Speaker of the East Pakistan Assembly, passed a resolution extending full support to the President's move on Kashmir.

The resolution also congratulated the freedom-fighters and assured them of full support.

A public meeting at Rajshahi held yesterday called upon the people of Pakistan to stand united to face the serious threat posed by Indian aggression.

The meeting, attended by people of all shades of opinion declared that the people of Pakistan "are united as one man to reply in a befitting manner to the aggression and imperialistic designs of the Indian Government". All the speakers, while addressing the meeting, assured the Kashmiri freedom-fighters of their wholehearted support in their struggle for freedom against Indian domination.

(Morning News, September 4, 1965.)

Azad Kashmir Resolute

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, President of Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, dismissed with contempt the UN Secretary-General U Thant's five-point plan for a cease-fire in Kashmir. He said that the UN had failed to implement its resolution on Kashmir issue pending before it for the last eighteen years, and India had contemptuously violated UN resolutions.

The President said that India had committed aggression in Kashmir and another cease-fire would provide the Indian aggressors with the means to perpetuate its aggression and occupation.

The 240-minute meeting was punctuated by slogans of: "We will liberate Kashmir", "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Ayub Zindabad."

The meeting was also addressed by a former Azad Kashmir President, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan.

(Morning News, September 4, 1965.)

Pakistan Attacked

Broadcasting to the nation on Sept. 6, President Ayub said :

"Now that the Indian rulers, with their customary cowardice and hypocrisy, have ordered their armies to march into the sacred territory of Pakistan without a formal declaration, the time has come for us to give them a crushing reply, which will put an end to India's adventure in imperialism. . ."

State of Emergency

The President has declared a state of emergency in Pakistan and the Defence of Pakistan Rules have come into force. These measures have been adopted to meet the situation created by India after suffering defeat in Kashmir. War in Kashmir without a formal declaration was a prelude to the present situation.

We feel confident that in this hour of trial the people of Pakistan will remain calm and united and will leave nothing to glorify the prestige of their beloved country. The offensive by India on the Pakistan borders has been launched after suffering heavy defeat in Kashmir, and God willing the enemy shall find crushing defeat on every front. The offensive which

the Indians have launched as a last straw on the camel's back will prove even more destructive for them.

Governor's Tribute to Armed Forces

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan said: "India has attacked Pakistan without making a declaration of war. It gained an initial advantage which it has now lost. Our forces, both on land and in the air, are giving a crushing reply to the enemy. They are the embodiment of courage and resourcefulness. Their spirit of faith and sacrifice is unparalleled. The whole nation is proud of them."

(Nawa-i-Waqt, Editorial, September 7, 1965)

East Wing solidly united against Aggression

NAP Secretary.

Syed Altaf Husain, General Secretary, East Pakistan National Awami Party, said in a statement: "India has forced a war on 10 crore Pakistanis by her naked aggression in blatant violation of the United Nations Charter." He hoped that the patriotic citizens of the country would rise to the occasion to teach a lesson to the Indian war-maniacs.

Jamaat-i-Islami

Maulana Abdur Rahim, Ameer, East Pakistan Jamaat-i-Islami, said: "I fully support the

call of the President to the nation and assure him of the full support of the Jamaat-i-Islami for any step he takes to uphold the dignity of Pakistan."

Prof. Ghulam Azam, General Secretary, Jamaat-i-Islami, East Pakistan, yesterday said: "India should know that in spite of political differences amongst political parties and their supporters, the masses will obey each command of the Government of Pakistan to defend their sacred homeland."

EPA Opposition Chief

Mr. Abdul Malek Ukil, MPA, and Leader of the Opposition in the East Pakistan Assembly, in a telegram declared that not only 50 lakh Kashmiris but 10 crore Pakistanis now stood united as a rock to fight out Indian aggression.

(Morning News, September 8, 1965)

Christians' Call

A meeting of the Pakistan Masihi League urged the Government of the United Kingdom and the United States to recognise the Revolutionary Council of Kashmir as the legitimate Government of the Indian-held Kashmir.

The Joint Secretary of the League, Mr. N. Patras, said that the U. S. and Britain were,

by their arming of India, responsible for the Indian aggression and atrocities over the Kashmiri people.

The meeting appealed to the masses in India on behalf of the Pakistani Christians to urge their Government to stop the massacre of the Kashmiri people and end their hold over the State.

(Pakistan Times, September 8, 1965)

Defence and Development

Economic strength best deterrent against Aggression

by Rashid Ibrahim

It is generally believed that defence and development are opposed to each other, expenditure on defence is regarded as a drain on development resources, and enlarged outlays required for development mean less availability of resources for defence. Thus, defence effort and development effort are considered as pulling a country in opposite directions.

To a large extent this is true. Development is a function of investment. Any national resources which can be invested but are used for consumption on defence instead of building up productive assets, are a loss to the development effort. However, defence expenditure is not wholly a negative expenditure, and not always necessarily opposed to development. It is wrong to think of defence organisation and operations as something wasteful and sterile, and of defence effort as hostile to development effort. It would be unfortunate if such thinking creates a sense of inferiority complex in the members of the armed forces and others associat-

ed with defence. The defence effort must be viewed in the proper perspective and in its varied aspects, in order to get a balanced picture.

First of all defence and national security are a pre-condition of development. In a situation where there is no security, external or internal, little mobilisation and development of resources can take place. The country would not be able to plan for economic progress or indeed for the fulfilment of any objectives, or to provide infra-structure needed for development, or to offer inducement to private enterprise to make long-term investments. The extent to which this security aspect has importance and meaning depends, of course, on the circumstances of each country.

At a time when Malaya was threatened by internal and external incursions on account of guerrillas and otherwise, it could not possibly embark on development, despite the vast resources and potentialities it had. In Viet-Nam today, not much thought and effort can be devoted to development. When national independence and integrity is in jeopardy, the development effort loses its meaning whether we like it or not. Liberty and homogeneous nationhood and national culture are what the colonial countries have been fighting for, for centuries, and it would be foolish for them to risk their loss.

A servile life is not worth all the riches of the world. Indeed, development at the cost of defence may make a country a more tempting prize (and of course easier) for the aggressor, and, therefore, a greater security risk.

The basic determinant is whether the expenditure is meant for essential defence requirements, or for aggrandisement and war. It may be difficult to draw the line, but so long as a country is sure of its premises and is honest in its approach, expenditure on defence cannot be regarded as unnecessary and extravagant. Defence expenditure is an insurance premium for national assets and national sovereignty, and a prudent person bears the insurance cost year after year so that he does not lose the assets altogether. Insurance seems too expensive to one who lives only in the immediate present but is highly economical and worthwhile to one who has a larger perspective.

Pakistan is a case in point. As long as we are threatened by external aggression—and we have very recent proof that this threat is real and not imaginary—we can hardly close our eyes ostrich-like, and continue unswervingly to put all our resources in development. If we had the choice—I mean the practical choice of people in touch with reality and not the theo-

retical choice of intellectuals, concerned only with growth models and equations—there is little doubt that we would have allocated much less rosources to defence and more to development. But placed as we are, do we have the choice? If we were like Switzerland where historical forces have created a protective wall partly sustained by rivalry among the neighbours, or if the United Nations had really emerged as an effective peace-keeping organisation, we should have certainly thought and acted differently. No country could be more dedicated to development than Pakistan, and we have demonstrated this by work rather than words. The President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, himself a soldier, has ensured the maximum allocation of resources to development and has pressed all governmental and private agencies, and all economic policies and administrative measures, into the service of development. We know that in strengthening our economy lies not only the hope for improvement of our conditions of living but also the basis of our defence effort. And yet we spend substantial amounts on defence. Why? The raison d'etre of Pakistan was that we should have a separate homeland where we could order our lives in accordance with our faith and our traditions. We cannot risk this homeland itself.

The second aspect to bear in mind is that defence expenditure is not unproductive in its

entirety. There are activities which contribute to the productive effort, and add to non-warlike goods and services even though they are primarily meant for use of the defence services. For instance, there may be military formations for the breeding of cattle and production of fodder, there may be military dairies for the production of milk and milk products, there may be military factories for the production of consumption goods. These production units, though meant to cater for the requirements of military personnel, may also make surpluses available to the civil sector and, as their products are usually of higher quality, may help to set standards and improve production. The same is true of defence training institutions which turn out civil engineers, mechanical and electrical engineers, doctors and specialists, tele-communication and other technicians, drivers, mechanics, fitters, etc. Military cantonments provide a much better example of regional and town planning than municipal areas. Every soldier who has been trained in discipline, punctuality, businesslike methods and devotion to the job in hand, and has been kept in good health and form, becomes a valuable asset for the manpower resources of the country. The defence services generally represent a high degree of competence, organisational efficiency and modern outlook. They are comparatively free from the evils of corruption, favouritism and parochialism. The officers are trained

to be leaders and are action-oriented. All this investment in human resources cannot be unproductive.

In addition, of course, are the ordinance factories specifically meant for the production of warlike materials like arms and ammunition, and training establishments specifically meant for imparting training in warfare. These formations do not produce goods and services of the type required for general consumption and turn out products which are usable only for destruction. Nevertheless, they represent a high degree of technical knowledge and skill, and have incidental and potential benefit for economic growth. Defence production and research organisations, often because they were defence units where the usual financial criteria and cost benefit ratios did not apply, have led to important scientific discoveries and technological innovations. Indeed, the tremendous expansion of nuclear and space knowledge in the modern era may be attributed to defence. Thus, the defence efforts make positive and sometimes vital contribution to the reservoir of production capacity, trained manpower and scientific skill in the country. This reservoir could feed the requirements of economic development whenever defence needs decline, and in any case after the person or equipment involvod is no longer in direct use of defence.

The third aspect which needs consideration is the creation of demand by the defence expenditure. This consideration is not so relevant to the under-developed countries like Pakistan where demand can be easily sustained by increasing development outlay, as to the advanced countries who are worried about full employment and where a fall in the large defence disbursements may depress economic activity. However, given a certain level of defence expenditure, it does help to promote demand and provide the seeds of development. Apart from providing employment to a large number of the "labour force", it generates various types of requirements of goods and services for the provision of which indigenous production capacity would be needed. Most of the industrial capacity, available in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent at the time of partition, was the result of Second World War requirements and the location of Eastern Group Supply Base in India. Of course, some countries may choose, or be forced to import these requirements—equipment, consumer goods, training. But there is every incentive to build up indigenous resources, and that in time should help the larger development effort.

One should also mention the use of defence force in emergencies like floods, cyclones, locust invasions, epidemics, labour troubles, etc. When

such calamities occur, the large, disciplined and well-equipped organization available in the defence is called upon by the government to come to rescue of the population. In Pakistan, assistance has also been involved in dealing with smuggling and other widespread problems requiring a large body of honest, dedicated and hardworking personnel.

Having tried to discern and highlight the "silver lining" one may proceed to enquire whether such silver linings could be widened. Of course, one should do one's best to limit the size of the "cloud" and contain the dimensions of the defence expenditure. Once we know the threat, and the degree upto which it can be restricted by global or regional peace-keeping efforts (e.g., United Nations, CENTO, SEATO) and national diplomatic arrangements, we should be as economical as feasible. There is the new shibboleth of "cost effectiveness", but it is useful and expressive. One should ensure maximum cost effectiveness in meeting the threat, in the consciousness that every additional unnecessary rupee spent on defence means a rupee less for development and to that extent weakens the basic national strength and fundamental economic stability. In the long run and in the final analysis, economic strength is the best deterrent against aggression. Accordingly, a constant review is needed of the organisation,

procedures, equipment, tactics, training arrangements, personnel policies and morale requirement of the defence services, and a jealous scrutiny of the expenditures involved.

I am no defence "strategist" and I speak as a layman. But basic concepts regarding defence might also need re-thinking, for instance the maintenance of large standing forces, the usefulness of "mujahid" type formations, the feasibility of a broader base for training and reserves, the validity of guerrilla tactics, the relative roles of the various arms of the army, air force and as well as navy, the reliance on civil infra-structure of transport, medical facilities and other goods and services usable in war, etc., etc. Perspective planning and five-year planning as for development might be more meaningful and cheaper in the longer run, than ad hoc reactions to ad hoc situations.

Expansion of indigenous production of defence materials, non-warlike and warlike, to the maximum extent feasible is important, not only from the strategic view-point but also from the economic angle. Unfortunately, it is easier to import than to go through the time-consuming and nerve-wrecking excercises of revising and rewriting specifications, co-ordinating defence and civil requirements, securing feasibility reports for production, initiating new production

units or processes accepting delay and defects in the initial stages, etc. But the objective is worth all this trouble, and more.

In order to enable proper planning and production, defence requirements over a period have to be identified, and orders assured to the production units. To the extent private sector production capacity can be mobilised and re-organised to meet defence needs, it may be relied upon, although quality of the products and cost will have to be watched for other requirements, public sector enterprises may be needed or the responsibility entrusted to defence ordinance factories. In either case the commercial aspect of production should not be ignored, proper pricing policies (even for monopoly and non-importable items) should be adopted, and maximum profits (or minimum losses) insisted upon. Unwarranted subsidies and concessions should be eliminated. Where a defence production unit necessarily has surplus capacity during peace time its utilisation for feasible civil production need not be frowned upon.

Ideas are sometimes put forward that the personnel and equipment of a large professional army (or air force and navy for that matter) should in peace time, be utilised for "productive" purposes. The assumption is that excellent manpower is available and remains idle,

and that useful equipment is in the country and is being wasted.

In some countries, military organisation and resources are said to have been used successfully for support of civil needs. ("The Role of the Military in Under-developed Countries", Princeton University Press, 1962, edited by John J. Johnson, Consultant of Rand Corporation— the example of Israel has been quoted in this context.) On the other hand, the reaction of military authorities may be that the professional soldier is being trained all the time and has little time to spare, and there would be extra attrition of the equipment if used for civilian purposes and replacement may be difficult or delayed. As on any such question much can be said on both sides.

In Pakistan, apart from emergencies of the type referred to earlier, the army has been actually used for some civil construction. (In USA the Army Corps of Engineers has been traditionally responsible for major government works in the civil sector.) For instance the Welitangi Dam, the Indus Valley Road, and "troop labour" construction of barracks within the cantonments. Army horses and cattle are used for artificial insemination and army farms provide some wheat, rice and vegitable seeds for the civil sector. Naval teams have helped

in hydrographic surveys. Air Force has assisted in dropping civilian supplies in inaccessible areas during the winter.

The question is thus not one of philosophic objections but of practical difficulties in sparing more men and material. Greater use might, however, be possible of military training institutions, in the sense that the same overhead facilities could be made available to additional civilian trainees. While whole units or personnel in very large numbers might not be available a nucleus of military officers and men could perhaps be deputed to provide leadership and essential example for certain specific activities of vital national importance requiring little equipment but considerable initiative and discipline e.g., reclamation of eroded soils, construction of embankments, etc.

What is, however, most important, and also the most practical, is that military personnel, who retire at a comparatively young age and have excellent background and professional equipment, should be made use of for development work. For this purpose the technical manpower deficiencies should be identified by the country's planners, and before or after release, arrangements made to provide relevant training In the case of officers, there is an idea to put them through a course of business management; if this is done and some practical

training with business houses is organised in addition, the acute deficiency of "professional managers", experienced at present by public enterprises as well as the more progressive private entrepreneurs, could be partly met. If the officers were more development-oriented and development-trained, they could make much greater contribution.

Hope for Peace

In Pakistan, defence expenditure at present runs at about 3% of national income and 30% of public revenue receipts (Central Government). These are not high percentages but in absolute terms the amount appears large in relation to our overall needs and resources. Taking the world as a whole, defence expenditure has been estimated at $120 billion a year. This is a colossal figure, being almost equal to the total national income of all under-developed countries. The bulk of it is incurred by the major Powers—members of the U.N. Security Council ! [United Nations : Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament—Report by a group of experts appointed by U.N. Secretary-General, in 1962. Of the total $120 billion, more than one-third each is incurred by USA and USSR, UK and France are about 3% each. China (Formosa) which is member of the U.N. is practically irrelevant and defence expenditure of China (People's Republic) is not known.]

For several years now, it has been suggested that these countries should agree upon general disarmament and release resources which could then be made available to the developing countries for their development. In 1961, the U.N. Secretary-General appointed an experts' group to make a detailed study of the problem. So far this has proved a counsel of perfection, and the big powers do not feel secure enough to undertake any large-scale reduction of their defence forces.

At the recent meeting of ECOSOC, a suggestion has been made that member governments, including the developing countries, should make a study of the economic and social consequences of disarmament on individual basis on the lines of the study made in 1961 on global basis. However, for the present such a study in our context would be an academic exercise. We should certainly hope for peace throughout the world—and under-developed countries have much more to gain by it than the advanced countries—but we cannot ignore the realities staring us in the face and have to be ready with our defence as best as we can.

Brotherly ties between Pakistan and India

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"Day will dawn", says Arshad

NEW DELHI, July 19: The Pakistan High Commissioner here, Mr. Arshad Husain, has said that he was sure the day would come soon when India and Pakistan will stand shoulder to shoulder instead of face to face as they did now.

Speaking at the annual installation meeting of the Rotary Club here on Thursday, he said that in spite of the dark clouds on the horizon a few days ago "which have now happily dispersed" he had every hope that the two neighbouring countries would soon establish "not merely cordial and friendly relations, but brotherly ties".

Mr. Arshad Husain added that no two nations had so much in common or were so close to each other. "Wherever one goes on both sides, one meets only friends," he said.

The Indian Minister for Railways, Mr. S. K. Patil, who presided, said in reference to Pakistan envoy's speech that if there were more of such goodwill, there would be peace on earth.

(DAWN, 20th July, 1965.)

Pakistan-Indonesia Regular Cargo-Liner Service Shortly

By Dawn Staff Correspondent

A regular cargo-liner service will start soon between Pakistan and Indonesia, according to a decision taken in Karachi yesterday between the visiting three-member Indonesian Shipping Delegation and officials of the Pakistan National Shipping Corporation.

Details for the proposed service will be thrashed out in the course of several meetings scheduled for this week between the Indonesian and Pakistani Shipping authorities.

The arrangements to establish a shipping link between the two countries are in pursuance of the decisions taken at the Pakistan-Indonesia Economic Conference. The Conference, held in Karachi in March last had recommended various measures to increase economic and cultural collaboration between the two countries.

Yesterday's meeting was held for about three hours. The Indonesian shipping delegation, led by Captain Dompas, Director of Bipalindo (Bureau for Cargo and Space Control and Promotion of Shipping), consisted of Captain Parera,

Assistant General Traffic Manager of Akarta Lloyds; and Mr. S. Arifuddin, Manager, Persian-Gulf Service.

The Pakistani side was represented by Commodore I. K. Mumtaz, Director-General of Ports and Shipping, Commodore Rashid Ahmad, Managing Director, National Shipping Corporation; Captain M. Saeed, Commercial Manager of the National Shipping Corporation; and Commander Ibne Ali, Director, Shipping, of the Directorate of Ports and Shipping.

(DAWN, 20th July, 1965.)

Dangerous Trends in Indian Foreign Policy

Militancy Chauvinism—untruth—stealthiness

By **NAEEMA SHAH**

There is the story of a gentleman who was carelessly swirling his stick while on a sauntering walk and hit the nose of a man coming from the opposite direction. The man with the bleeding nose protested whereupon the gentleman with stick said proudly. "Don't you know that I am a free citizen of a free country and can do anything I like." "Yes, you are right" said the injured, "but your freedom ends where my nose begins". As a sovereign State, India has every right to formulate and carry out her foreign policy in any form she likes but this right ends where the nose of other countries begins. The Indian stick has already not only injured noses but also broken heads of many.

A close study of the Indian foreign policy reveals many dengerous trends and unless the world and particularly the Afro-Asian community takes note of them right now, they, like Sindbad the sailor of the Arabian Nights, may find themselves in the grip of a Peer Tasmapa,

whose weight will be difficult to dislodge from the back of humanity. These trends can be summed up in saying that the Indian foreign policy is fast crystallising into the ancient Indian philosophy of Chanakya, Kautilya and Manu, with all the elements of stealthiness, surprise, millitancy, chauvinism and untruth. The lack of statesmanship which we are today witnessing in certain parts of the world is not as dangerous as these trends in the Indian foreign policy. In the case of Viet-Nam, at least one knows where one stands, however bad the situation, and can calculate the possibilities, however dangerous the prospects. That is not the case with India.

The Indian Hindu, who holds a decisive majority and political influence and authority, is the most conservatively tradition-minded person and the teachings of Chanakya and Manu are part of his religion. There is a strong and organized movement in India today in the form of the Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh and the R. S. S. to convert India into a Vedic Hindu State not merely in substance but also in form. The systematic killing, forcible proselytisation, expulsion and persecution of minorities in India, —executed, abetted or connived at as it is by Government—is obviously a positive step in that direction and shows that the goal is being achieved as a State policy. Their national emblem,

the national flag and the national anthem are all Hindu in origin or substance.

Article 40 of the Indian Constitution is significant. It provides that "The State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government." Any student of history will testify that Panchayat system was the mode of community life of ancient Hindus. Therefore, without saying that India is to be a Hindu State patterned after the ancient Hindu order, the Indian Constitution makes obligatory for the State to organise national life in India on the pattern of ancient Hinduism of India. Incidentally, Mr. Gandhi was a great champion of Panchayat system and his advocacy of Panchayat can be understood when it is remembered that he was also incessant champion of Ram Raj, which simply means the rule of ancient Hinduism, whatever circumlocutions may be made about it. The Indian Constitution thus enjoins on the State to move towards the goal of Panchayat Raj and Ram Raj of Mr. Gandhi's dream. Thus there is a whole range of things in India which unmistakably points towards one thing, namely, the revival of Hinduism. It is no wonder that precepts of Chanakya and Manu should find echo in Indian policies. The late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the

architect of foreign policy of independent India, expressed his abiding faith in teachings of Chanakya when he named the most fashionable section of the Indian capital, Delhi, as Chanakyapuri or the abode of Chanakya.

What are the teachings of Chanakya and Manu? Chanakya in his "Arthasastra" said, "One inferior to another should enter into an alliance on certain conditions with the latter; one in superior position to another should start hostile operations against the latter; one who thinks he can neither harm nor be harmed should keep quiet; one endowed with superior means should march against the other; one who is devoid of power should surrender; one who is in need of help should enter into an alliance with one and hostilities with another". Manu in his "Smiriti" said, "One should attempt to conquer enemies through conciliation, gifts or intrigues, using all these together or separately".

Dr. Satchidananda Murty, Professor of Philosophy in the Andhra University, in his book "Indian Foreign Policy" explained that "neigbouring States are actual or potential enemies while States situated beyond them are allies" and that "intrigue includes hostile propaganda, threats, coercion, sowing of dissensions, infiltration and subversion of enemy States" according

to these Hindu teachings. According to Dr. Murty, Hindu scriptures of India enjoin that "States ought to be power States, which should never be satisfied with either the territory or the power they have got. Expansion of territory, attempts to control neighbouring States and deceptive friendliness when the neighbouring States are more powerful—these were laid down as norms for Inter-State relations.

War was considered to be an ennobling and purifying experience for the ruling caste. The rulers were taught that rivalry, territorial ambitions, the use, when necessary, of cunning in diplomacy and ruthlessness in war were princely virtues. The aim always was "aggrandisement and establishment of suzerainty over other States". After pointing out that the ideal of Indian Hinduism is "to bind, unite and consolidate the earth", Dr. Murty significantly says, "this ideal of a lasting universal Indian State was never fully realised till India became free in recent times". However, the teaching of Hinduism "has a lesson for modern India".

Mr. Gandhi, who is being today paraded about as great exponent of peace and non-violence, hardly believed in them; he preached non-violence because he could not do anything else. It was nothing but confession of weakness. Mr. M. R. Javakar in his "Story of My Life"

quotes Mr. Gandhi as having said: "If India had possessed a sword to fight the British, it would not have listened to his gospel of non-violence". In his "Delhi Diary" Mr. Gandhi said, "India adopted only non-violence of the week" and Mr. F. P. Power in his "Gandhi on World Affairs" quotes him as saying "Non-violence was a temporary ideal to secure India's independence". When independence came India repudiated the ideal. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on July 26, 1955, on the occasion of the Indian invasion of Goa, Mr. Nehru, spiritual heir of Mr. Gandhi, said: "Acharya Kripalani has put a straight question whether the Government was pledged to non-violence. The answer to that is no, the Government is not". India had already repudiated non-violence—and truth—in Kashmir, Hyderabad, Junagadh and 500 odd States by annexing them by force. But now the thin veneer of words had also gone.

The teachings of ancient Indian Hinduism, as cited earlier, can be summarised to (a) belief in force as arbiter in international disputes, (b) bad neighbourliness, (c) insincerity and deceptiveness as instruments of diplomacy, (d) expansionism, (e) a policy of being bully to the weak and servile before the strong, (f) disbelief in rule of law and international morality and decency. Let us now proceed to show

ad seriatim that every one of these elements exists in the Indian foreign policy :—

(a) India has not solved a single international dispute where she has not used force and conversely there is not a single international dispute solved by India where she did not use force. She is piling up arms from every possible quarter and is spending Rs. 10,000 million annually on armament, while Indian economy is tottering and masses in India are starving.

(b) India is at odds with all her neighbours—Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan, China, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. In keeping with this, she is mortally afraid of facing the Afro-Asian community, in which India lives, but is always very happy to have intercourse with European and American countries. To say this is not to show hostility to Europe or America, which, as part of human race, is as dear as any other part. It is just to underline the fact that sincerity towards neighbours, particularly next door neighbours should precede sincerity to distant countries.

(c) India is and has been trying to prevent the holding of an Afro-Asian Conference but poses herself to be an enthusiastic worker for it. When it comes to supporting Arab goals, India wriggles out but she is very enthusiastic

in according meaningless courtesies such as conferring of diplomatic status on the Arab League. She poses as author of concepts of nuclear free zones and non-alignment but she has actively abetted and connived at nuclearisation of the Indian Ocean and establishment of Western military bases in Indian Ocean islands overlooking Afriea and the Arabian peninsula

She is sore at the division of the mythical "Bharat Mata" which never existed but she encourages and contrives division of other countries whether it is Viet-Nam, Korea, Nepal, Palestine, Germany, or the Congo. She poses herself as enemy of racial discrimination in South Africa but practises the worst form of discrimination at home and encourages and defends discrimination by her population in Ceylon, African countries and elsewhere against the native population. She poses to be enemy of colonialism but she is occupying the Jammu and Kashmir State by force of arms and is the only Afro-Asian country which is not ashamed, of calling Sikkim and Bhutan as her protectorates, which is euphemism for colonies. She expresses horror at nuclear weapons but has gathered all paraphernalia to manufacture, test and deploy nuclear weapons and takes pride in saying that some of her nuclear equipment is not owned even by super-powers. Whenever there is any trouble in any part of the world,

she is ready with a highly pontifical formula to solve it but during the past 18 years she has found no formula to settle her disputes with others except the use of force.

Finally, while India has appointed herself as conscience keeper of the world, her own dealings are devoid of any logic, consistency, chivalry, morality and decency, as the preceding and the following illustrations will show.

(d) India has so far grabbed 4,76,000 square miles of States in the sub-continent, is casting coverous eyes on all her neighbours and is trying to create Indian colonies in Africa and South East Asia.

(e) India feels no compunction about morality, international obligation and solemn commitment when she invades Kashmir, Junagadh, Manavadar, Hyderabad and Goa. She feels no prick of conscience when she deploys her entire army on Pakistan borders on one pretext or another. She has no scruples about consistency when she says that resort to arbitration in settling her disputes infringes her sovereignty although Article 51(d) of her Constitution provides that "The State shall endeavour to encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration." Self-righteous India is always right when she rejects every single proposal of the UN and every world

leader to a dispute of hers. But when her emaciated army clashes with China or Pakistan, it runs away like hell, accepts and advocates arbitration, begs others to intervene and goes about complaining that China and Pakistan are not amenable to world opinion.

(f) Let India cite a single instance in which she accepted a UN mandate when it applied to her disputes. In defiance of UN India stands at par with Portugal, South Africa and Israel. She has not spared even the International Court of Justice. When the case of Dadra and Nagar Haveli went before that Court, Mr. Nehru said in 1956, "I know how the International Court of Justice is going to decide. I know that the judgement is going to be against us, but it is not going to make any difference."

It is true that Goa, Dadra and Nagar were a clear case of colonialism on the part of Portugal. But this is no excuse for the bad manners and discourtesy shown to judiciary by India. India was one of the sponsors of the Bandung Conference of 1955. She became inimical to the idea of Afro-Asian Conference when the Bandung Conference did not proclaim the leadership of India over Asia and Africa. As an alternative she sponsored Non-Aligned Conference. However, thc Bandung Conference of 1955 and the Non-Aligned Conference of 1964 have produced

peace charters. Let India point out a single principle of these charters which she has practised. These charters provide for the right of self-determination to all "peoples and nations". Why India does not practise this principle in Kashmir and other Indian colonies? The charters provide for settlement of international disputes through arbitration and judicial process also.

Why India does not solve her disputes through these methods unless and until she is beaten in battle field as happened in the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and the Rann of Kutch battle this year where India accepted arbitration after failure of her military adventures? The charters forbid colour bar. Why India practises colour bar against African students in Indian institutions and why Indians in Africa practise colour bar against the natives under nose of Indian missions? Let India answer to these straight questions.

This is the true face of India which the people sitting far off cannot recognise because of the smoke-screen of propaganda and the simulation of simplicity, austerity and sincerity when you come across an Indian representative. He resorts to this simulation not because he believes in it. He does so because it helps him impress others—that is the technique of what

Dr. Murty has called the Hindu art of "deceptive friendliness." When the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, went to pay a visit to the UAR in October 1964, he cooked his own food and had spent 60 years of his life before he set his foot on a foreign soil. The Indian publicity machinery seized these two facts as mark of great simplicity. That is not the reality. Without disparagement to Mr. Shastri, let it be said without mincing words that he did not go outside India for sixty years because Hindu teachings forbid a Hindu to leave India lest he should get poluted by coming into touch with a foreigner—an Atisudra—and he cooks his own food because again food touched by an Atisudra is too profane to be eaten by a Hindu.

Here, therefore we are witnessing the rise of a jingoism which is worse than Nazism. The Indian is ferocious when he deals with the weak as evidenced by the butchery of helpless minorities in India and he is most servile and cringing when he deals with a person who can speak to him from a position of strength, as the war of liberation of 1947-48 in Kashmir, the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and the battle of Rann of Kutch this year have proved. This is a very basic difference. When you deal with a brave man, you can hope for magnanimity.

A coward is dangerous both in victory and defeat. In flush of victory, he is petty-minded, relentless and unmerciful; in defeat he is most cunning. India is behaving just that way. Just compare the Indian adventures in colonialism. European nations with all their superiority complex and greater material resources, have yielded to world opinion and left gracefully. On the other hand, the UN and the world has been saying that India is wrong in Kashmir and yet she holds to it greedily, clumsily and brazen-facedly.

(DAWN, 14th August, 1965)

Diary from 25th July 1965 to 16th October, 1965

JULY 25

Istanbul: The Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Souat Urguplu is stated to have expressed his concern to Mr. Z. A. Bhutto over the postponement of US economic aid to Pakistan. He hoped that the US Government would not stretch the matter too for, but would settle it soon.

Dacca: A sense of insecurity prevails among the Muslim residents of Pakistan enclave, Chhit Nalgram, of Patgram Police Station, Rangpur, due to persistent harassment by the Indian border force personnel, according to information available here.

Karachi: The USIS in Pakistan is reported to have been spending over Rs. 1 lakh to collect the reactions of Pakistanis to these and similar other questions in a lengthy questionnaire. A Photostat copy of a page of the questionnaire was reproducted by Morning News.

JULY 26

Karachi: The Government has advised foreign missions in Pakistan that they should not conduct "public polls or survey of any

kind" in this country as "such undertakings do not fall within the legitimate activities" of foreign missions. A Press Note issued in Karachi added that "the Government has no doubt that public will refrain from participating in such polls and surveys".

Hong Kong: Several Asian Governments have expressed their strong support for Pakistan on the question of the postponement of the Consortium meeting. The support for Pakistan, has, so far, mainly come from China and Indonesia, but it is understood that there is an undercurrent of sympathy in the Japanese view of the growing crisis in Pakistan-US relations.

Colombo: The Maldive Islands, a chain of 200 tiny coral islands spreading on the Equator across 600 miles of the Indian Ocean, gained their independence from Britain today.

Karachi: Two separate credit agreements were concluded in Karachi yesterday between the Government of the Social Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of Pakistan for a total amount of 40.8 million dollars with the possibility of further increase in the amount.

JULY 27

Karachi: A four member sub-committee was yesterday set up by the Special Committee

of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCC&I) to draw up detailed recommendations for reducing the country's dependence on foreign resources in view of the American threat to freeze further assistance to Pakistan.

Geneva : UN Seretary-General Thant appealed to the Geneva Disarmament Conference today to restore the "spirit and momentum" of East-West detente which, he said, has been "eroded by political crises in many parts of the world".

Khasi (Bharat:) Thirty starvation deaths have occurred in a Khasi village Lyngangam, in Assam recently, according to a "Times of India" report from Shillong. The Government is taking famine relief measures, it added.

JULY 28

Karachi : An agreement was signed in Karachi yesterday to start a six-week cargo-liner service between Pakistan and Indonesia. The shipping service which will start operating early next month will become more frequent with development of trade between the two countries in pursuance of the Indonesia-Pakistan Agreement on Economic and Cultural Co-operation

Jakarta : Indonesia will test its first atom bomb in November, a top Army official said here last night.

JULY 29

Rawalpihdi : The Pakistan Government today announced a 12-month moratorium on Press Laws, leaving the national Press free to regulate its conduct on a voluntary basis through its own Court of Honour.

Rawalpindi : Some concrete proposals are being disscussed between Moscow and Rawalpindi in connection with the offer of economic and other assistance by the Soviet Union, following the US aid freeze. This was disclosed here today by the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. A. E. Nesterenko.

Karachi : To examine and report on the state of broadcasting and to make recommendations regarding its future development and to suggest guidelines for the development of television as an instrument of mass communication and mass education, the Government has appointed an 8-member Broadcasting Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Mumtaz Hasan.

JULY 30

LONDON: The United Nations Economic and ocial Council (UNESCO) now holding its

39th session in Geneva, has unanimously approved a Pakistani resolution calling upon the developed countries to relieve the crippling debt burden facing the developing nations by easing their credit terms.

Rawaldindi: The Bill amending the provisions of the Security Act of Pakistan to bring them in conformity with the Fundamental Rights was passed by the National Assembly tonight after a marathon debate spread over about 10 hours.

Karachi: The Deptty Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr. Said Hasan, disclosed here yesterday that a long list of projects has been submitted to the Soviet Union for financing the Third Five-Year Plan.

JULY 31

United Nations: The US placed the Vietnam crisis more firmly in the lap of UN yesterday pledging unconditional co-operation with the Security Council "in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace".

Rawalpindi: The Government today introduced a Bill in the National Assembly which would empower it to increase its contribution to the Oil and Gas Development Corporation Fund from Rs. 5 crore to Rs. 25 crore.

AUGUST 1

Rawalpindi: President Ayub Khan in his first-of-the-month broadcast reassured the nation that in spite of the changed situation arising out of the US-sponsored postponement of the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meeting, the basic objectives of the Third Five-Year Plan would remain undisturbed. He said, the economic progress and prosperity of the people were of the utmost importance, but Pakistan's security and independence came first. "While countries strive for freedom in order to develop, they will not seek development at the cost of freedom," the President remarked.

Calcutta: The King of Bhutan, escaped unheart when unidentified persons opened fire on him and threw a hand-grenade in his direction at a town near the Bhutanese capital, it was officially announced.

AUGUST 3

Islamabad: The People's Republic of China will give development loans to Pakistan without interest for basic heavy engineering projects to help in its efforts to build an independent and self-reliant economy. This was stated here by the Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Ting Kou-yu.

New Delhi: A dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed in the riot-hit Central India city of Indore following violent demonstrations against the Indo-Pakistan agreement on the Rann of Kutch.

Hong Kong: People's China has signed a deal with a private industrialist of Pakistan to buy 21,500 bales of Pakistani cotton yarn, valued at Rs. 12.5 million, during the period from August 1965 to July 1966.

Geneva: The four Western Powers would submit a joint draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons within a fortnight, Britain's chief disarmament delegate, Lord Chalfont, told reporters.

AUGUST 4

Rawalpindi: The Presidential Cabinet approved measures to facilitate the grant of loans and advances to small entrepreneurs by commercial banks against the security of their landed property.

Lahore: Some important decisions were taken by the officials of Pakistan and Indian border security forces who met at Vingi on July 29 in compliance with Article 2 of the agreement on Rann of Kutch, it was officially stated here today.

Paris: The influential French daily "Le Monde" has indicated that France may increase credits to Pakistan outside Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium as a rebuff to US-sponsored postponement of Consortium meeting.

AUGUST 5

Karachi: A decision is expected shortly whether in the matter of export of cotton textiles to the UK, Pakistan should remain along with India and Hong Kong or shift to the global quota group of 15 countries.

Kathmandu: The trade review talks between Pakistan and Nepal have practically ended yesterday and both sides have agreed on certain steps to be taken for the flow of trade between the two countries.

AUGUST 6

Lahore: The West Pakistan Governor said the country was ready to face all eventualities in case American aid was not forthcoming.

Karachi: Mr. Altaf Husain, Minister for Industries and Natural Resources, assured the people on behalf of the Government that whatever may happen next month, when the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meets on the postponed date, the nation's economic growth would

neither be retarded nor the strategy and targets set in the Third Five-Year Plan would be materially affected.

AUGUST 7

Peking: The All-Chinese Students Federation has sent a cable to the Pakistan National Students Federation supporting the people's struggle in Pakistan against the United States' use of aid "as a means to put pressure on Pakistan".

Karachi: Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, called for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of all disputes between India and Pakistan, including Kashmir.

New Delhi: The Chief Ministers' Conference suggested food rationing aimed at easing the nation's acute food shortage.

(MORNING NEWS, 9th Aug., 1965.)

AUGUST 9

Azad Kashmir : A Revolutionary Council has been set up by the people of the occupied part of Kashmir to conduct an all out war of liberation against the Indian imperialism. This was announced by Radio Station describing itself as "Sada-i-Kashmir" as picked up by the monitoring department of the Azad Kashmir Radio last

night. The Revolutionary Radio Station also announced the termination of all so-called agreements with India and declared that the Kashmiris must rise to fight for their honour.

Kathmandu : A group of Bhutanese exiles charged here today that the attempted assassination of the King of Bhutan last week had been instigated by the Indian Government.

Dacca : Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Foreign Minister, said here today that the USA will not stop aid in view of its own economic interest. He said, it was a wrong notion to call the foreign economic assistance as aid. He said, he disliked the use of word "aid" because assistance was loan to be paid with heavy interest. They are not gift either, he remarked.

AUGUST 10

Rawalpindi: The Revolutionary Council of the people of Indian Occupied Kashmir and Jammu, which was set up yesterday, has forbidden the payment of taxes to any one save the National Government and has called upon all Civil Servants to assist and obey the new authotity, Radio Sada-i-Kashmir heard here tonight, said.

New Delhi : The Emergency Committee of the Indian Cabinet held another meeting here this evening to discuss the grave situation in

Occupied Kashmir. This was the second meeting summoned by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, within 24 hours. The meeting called on Sunday evening continued till the early hours of Monday morning.

Lahore : Inaugurating the new Broadcasting House of Radio Pakistan, President Ayub Khan today said, the policy of his Government had always been to develop broadcasting as a national institution by keeping it above political controversy. Radio Pakistan, he said, had already earned for itself a well-deserved reputation for presenting facts objectively and for maintaining good standards of reporting on national and international problems.

Singapore : Strategically vital Singapore today dramatically broke away from the two-year-old Malaysian Federation and became a sovereign independent state.

AUGUST 11

Rawalpindi : The freedom-fighters in the Indian Occupied Kashmir have cut off the Srinagar-Jammu road and have captured a number of major ammunition depots and food stocks of the Indian Army of occupation, it was announced tonight by "Sada-e-Kashmir" Radio, the secret radio station of the Revolutionary Council. The Radio said that the patriots had also

blown up nine bridges at different points in the held areas besides setting four petrol depots on fire.

Muzaffarabad: The Revolutionary Council set up in Occupied Kashmir by the freedom-fighters today announced the establishment of a National Government of the People of Jammu and Kashmir. The announcement of the formation of the Government has been made by its Revolutionary Council through a proclamation contained in the posters splashed across the walls of Srinagar and other big towns of Occupied Kashmir.

Moscow: Soviet specialist, Yulia Korchagima, who helped the Oil and Gas Development Corporation of Pakistan in organising the Bitumen Research Laboratory and training Pakistani personnel has said, she has "no doubt that oil will be found in Pakistan".

Kathmandu: King Mahendra inaugurated direct radio telecommunication links between Nepal and Pakistan at a ceremony held at the Singha Durbar Secretariat this afternoon.

AUGUST 12

Rawalpindi: The Sada-e-Kashmir Radio said in its late night news bulletin that freedom-fighters attacked a Brigade Headquarter in

Occupied Kashmir killing 40 Indian Army personnel and wounding 30. Similarly a battalion of Indian Army was completely wiped out at Baramula. According to Reuter and AFP, Srinagar, capital of the Indian Occupied Kashmir, has been sealed off to civilians following clashes between Indian occupation forces and Kashmiri freedom-fighters.

Rawalpindi: Sada-e-Kashmir Radio tonight launched a bitter attack against the UN and its Secretary-General, U Thant, for expressing his concern over the turn of events in Kashmir. The Radio commentator said that the UN as well as its main executive functionary, the Secretary-General, had remained smug while untold atrocities were being perpetrated on the millions of Kashmiris who were held in bondage.

London: The present conflict in Kashmir, declares an editorial in the "Daily Telegraph", today clearly stems from Mr. Shastri's unwise measures, eight months ago, with hardened Indian control over the Kashmir administration.

AUGUST 13

Rawalpindi: Freedom-fighters have cut off the Srinagar-Leh Road and have inflicted heavy casualties on the Indian occupation forces during the last 24 hours. Srinagar itself, where

fighting has taken place and all other important towns, have been put under curfew by the Indian command.

Rawalpindi: The Foreign Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, said here today that Pakistan had nothing to do with the uprising in Kashmir.

Washington: Eight of the 10 living Nobel Peace Prize winners today launched an urgent appeal to the world leaders for an end to the Vietnamese war.

AUGUST 14

Rawalpindi: Pakistanis celebrated the 18th Independence Day anniversary throughont the country today.

Srinagar: Armed Police patrolled the streets of Srinagar overnight as rumours spread that freedom-fighters were building up in Capital of the Indian occupied part of Kashmir. A 10-hour curfew was in force from 20-30 local time. For the first time since restrictions on civilian movement began four days ago, barbed wire barricades were thrown across bridges last night.

Tokyo: The US policy in Vietnam came under bitter attack at the anti-Atom and Hydrogen Bomb World Couference in Tokyo yesterday.

AUGUST 15

Rawalpindi: The Sada-e-Kashmir Radio said in its special news bulletin last night that the freedom-fighters have completely cut off Srinagar from other parts of the Valley. The radio said the Mujahids have destroyed all the bridges connecting the capital and have penetrated deep into the city destroying a number of petrol pumps and supply depots in the suburbs of Srinagar.

Karachi: The West Pakistan Governor, Malik Amir Mohammad Khan, said last night that "the people of Kashmir are on the right path and Pakistan will always support the right cause".

New Delhi: The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, addressing an Independence Day gathering said that Pakistan would not get an inch of Kashmir. It appeared that Pakistan wished to step up trouble in Kashmir, he said.

Washington: Indian diplomats abroad are reportedly going around saying that if "infiltrations from Azad Kashmir" continued into Kashmir, India might have to resort to bombing of Azad Kashmir areas to interdict guerrilla supply line.

AUGUST 16

Muzaffarabad: The Sada-e-Kashmir Radio said late tonight that the Indian troops in a desperate bid to save Srinagar from falling into the hands of the freedom-fighters, were now using aircraft, artillery and heavy guns and mortars against the revolutionary troops.

Karachi: The Planning Commission has, it is learnt, worked out an alternative development programme for 1965-66 which, while aiming at achieving the same targets as were set forth in the initial programme of the Third Five-Year Plan involves much less total expenditure.

Washington: The bitter attack by the Indian Information Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on UN Secretary-General, U Thant, has surprised and shocked United Nations circles. She has accused the Secretary-General of "not taking a serious view of Pakistan's action in Kashmir".

Rawalpindi: The Indian forces have violated the cease-fire line and have forcibly occupied three posts on the Azad Kashmir side in the Kargil sector.

AUGUST 17

Rawalpindi: The Sada-e-Kashmir Radio said late tonight that during the last 24 hours, the Indian troops had suffered more than 100

casualties in various engagements. In Poonch sector, the Mujahids had captured eight Indian posts within the last 24 hours. Eight Indians were also killed and a large number injured.

Dacca: A permanent port will be established on River Pussar at an estimated cost of Rs. 21,00,00,000, including a foreign exchange component of Rs. 11.15 crore. This was decided at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council which met in Dacca today under the chairmanship of the Central Finance Minister. The Committee also approved the setting up of triple super-phosphate fertilizer factory at Chittagong at a cost of Rs 209 lakh, including a foreign exchange component of Rs. 87.4 lakh.

Karachi: A team of Russian planners is expected to arrive in Karachi on Aug. 25 to hold discussions about various projects and development programmes in the Third Plan which may be financed by the Soviet Union it was learnt here yesterday.

AUGUST 18

Karachi: India has unilaterally called off the Indo-Pakistan Ministers meeting on the Rann of Kutch dispute which was scheduled to be held in New Delhi on Aug. 20 and has asked Pakistan to proceed "on the footing that no agreement

has been reached between the Ministers". The dispute will now be referred to a tribunal as provided in the Indo-Pakistan agreement of June 30 which had brought about a cease-fire in the disputed territory after weeks of serious clashes between Indian and Pakistani forces.

Rawalpindi: Choudhri Ali Akbar, Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs today declared that freedom-fighters of Jammu and Kashmir would not find Pakistan wanting in their hour of need.

Peking: Premier Chou En-lai stated here yesterday that it was the common desire of the Afro-Asian people to make the Second Afro-Asian Conference a success, and it was their unanimous demand to unite against imperialism.

AUGUST 19

Karachi: The Foreign Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, yesterday stressed that the United Nations function in regard to Kashmir dispute was to work for the implementation of its own resolutions to which India was also committed. He repeated Pakistan's offer to India of an honourable and equitable settlement of Kashmir dispute, and asked her to realise that threat would not solve the issue. Pakistan had lived with these threats for 18 years and knew how to deal with them, he added.

Chittagong: The Central Minister for Industries and Natural Resources, Mr. Altaf Husain, said that over the last three years or so, positive steps had been taken by the Government to eliminate economic disparity between the two Wings and the process was continuing.

Washington: France and China are said to have reached a significant understanding on a long term look at Asia during French Cultural Minister Andre Malraux's recent visit to Peking.

Muzaffarabad: The revolutionary forces in Occupied Kashmir have captured an arms and ammunition depot of the Indian Army in Budhal area in Jammu, Sada-e-Kashmir Radio said tonight.

AUGUST 20

Rawalpindi: The Indian Air force jets and light aircraft of the Indian Army violated Pakistan air space over a dozen times during the last 10 days, it was officially learnt here today. The Government of Pakistan is lodging a strong protest against these increasing incidents which are fraught with serious consequences, it was further learnt.

Jakarta: Pakistan and Indonesia today announced the formation of an organisation for Economic and Cultural Co-operation (IPECC) between the two countries.

Muzaffarabad: The freedom fighters today destroyed three strategic bridges near Srinagar killing 18 Indian soldiers, the Sada-e-Kashmir Radio said in its late night bulletin.

Karachi: An agreement was signed last evening between the Government of Pakistan and the USSR for the purchase on credit of machinery for airport construction worth Rs. 1.5 crore.

AUGUST 21

New Delhi: The "Indian Express" reported on Friday that nearly 6,000 people of Dahanu taluka staged a demonstration in Palghar town on Thursday protesting against the shortage of foodgrain.

Moscow: The Kremlin hit out on Thursday at President Johnson and called for a more popular front co-operation between Communists and Socialists.

AUGUST 22

RAWALPINDI: The freedom-fighters in Indian Occupied Kashmir celebrated the begining of the third week of their war of liberation today by wrecking an Indian Air Force plane at the Poonch airport and destroying an adjoinning bridge, thus isolating it from the surrounding Indian position.

Karachi: A citizens' meeting in Karachi today decided to form a Finance Sub-Committee to raise funds for the Kashmiri Mujahideen now locked in a life and death battle against the Indian Army. The President of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry will head the Sub-Committte. Its members will include political leaders, Ulema, and representatives of students and trade union workers.

New Delhi: The First Deputy Premier of Soviet Union this evening discussed the current situation in Occupied Kashmir with the Indian Prime Minister.

Peking: Another pilotless high altitude reconnaissance military plane of the United States was shot down yesterday by an air unit of the Navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army over the areas of Hainan Island.

AUGUST 23

Rawalpindi: In three fierce battles fought near Baramula, Rajauri and Mendhar, the Occupied Kashmir freedom-fighters today killed at least 122 Indian soldiers including some senior officers. This is the largest number of Indians killed on a single day since the liberation war against the Indian occupation forces in Jammu and Kashmir.

Washington : Indian Prime Minister Shastri has warned that India would 'strike back at Pakistan' if Pakistani 'aggression' continued in Kashmir In an interview to the 'New York Times' in New Delhi, he has openly hinted at a general war with Pakistan.

Washington : UN Secretary-General, Thant, is reported to be anxiously waiting for replies from Pakistan and India to his proposal that Under-Secretary-General, Ralph Bunche, visits the sub-continent to look into the latest crisis in Kashmir. U Thant submitted the proposal to Indian and Pakistani representatives at the United Nations on August 20.

New Delhi : The Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Y B. Chavan, said here today, 'India was ready to cross the cease-fire line in Kashmir, if necessary to defend it'.

AUGUST 24

Rawalpindi : The Indian Army has shelled a village lying well within Pakistan's territory. Twenty persons have been killed and 15 wounded. Village Awan lies one mile inside Pakistan border in Gujrat district. The shelling took place on Monday. Indian guns, it is learnt, continued pumping shells on the peaceful villagers for half an hour from 12-30 to 1 pm. The UN Observers have been informed of the happenings by Pakistan.

United Nations: UN Secretary-General, U Thant, announced today that he had summoned the Chief UN Truce Observer, Gen. Nimmo, from Kashmir to the UN headquarter for consultation on a very serious and dangerous situation there.

Rawalpindi: Impressed by the fast pace of development and proper utilisation of foreign aid during the Second Plan period, France and Italy are understood to have agreed to double their contributions for the Third Five-Year Plan.

AUGUST 25

Karachi: The Government of Pakistan yesterday demanded from the Indian Government adequate compensation for the losses suffered by Pakistan nationals in Awan Shareef, a village in Gujrat District of West Pakistan, which was shelled by heavy artillery units of the Indian Army on August 23, killing 25 persons and causing injuries to 15 others.

New Delni: The puppet Chief Minister of Occupied Kashmir, Mr. G.M. Sadiq, today said that there was chaos and disorder in the Indian-held Valley following 'attack by Pakistani infiltrators'.

Moscow: Some top Soviet leaders are due to visit Pakistan this year. They include the Sovient Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and the Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin.

RAWADPINDI: Freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir in encounters with the Indian Army in Rajauri and at other places today killed 195 Indian Soldiers and commissioned officers. In Rajauri sector, Kashmiri Mujahids pounced upon a very big Indian convoy with lightening speed and during a two-hour encounter killed 120 Indian soldiers and destroyed 25 military trucks.

MOSCOW: The Soviet Union charged today that the Gemini-V space flight was on a military espionage mission for the United States against North Vietnam, China and Cuba. The accusation appeared in "Red Star", official organ of the Soviet Defence Ministry.

AUGUST 26

MUZAFFARABAD: The path of the Indian troops, who had occupied two posts yesterday by crossing the cease-fire line in Tithwal sector, has been completely blocked.

SAIDU SHARIF: The Scientific Advisor to the President, Dr. Abdus Salam, today said Rs. 40 crore should be set apart for the purpose of scientific research as against the present allocation of Rs. 15 crore.

NEW DELHI: The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Alexei Kosygin, has sent a message about the Kashmir situation to the Indian Prime

Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, well-informed sources here said last night. According to those sources the message advised India not to do anything which would lead to a major conflict between India and Pakistan.

Rawalpindi : The instruments of ratification of Pakistan-Afghan transit trade agreement were exchanged here today. The agreement was signed in March last at Kabul.

AUGUST 27

Rawalpindi : The Indian Army suffered heavy casualities when freedom-fighters carried out with lightning speed an attack on the Occupation Army battalion headquarters in the Poonch-Menhdar area.

New Delhi: The Indian Foreign Ministry spokesman said here tonight that no one had made any proposal for mediating between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute. There is no question of mediation as far as India is concerned, the spokesman added.

New Delhi : The puppet Sadiq Government yesterday externed well-known Indian social worker, Miss Mridula Sarabai from the Occupied Kashmir on charge of 'close collaboration with Sheikh Abdullah and the Kashmir Plebiscite Front'.

Washington: The British G... reported to have counselled moderation to ... ington in its dealings with Pakistan. Its views on the current crisis in the Pakistan-US relations were conveyed to the Administration by a Foreign Office emissary who recently visited Washington. Britain is reported to feel that there could be more tact and sophistication on the part of the USA with regard to Pakistan.

AUGUST 28

Washington: Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, said yesterday the US was vitally interested in peace between India and Pakistan and hoped for a peaceful settlement of the fighting over Kashmir.

United Nations: Ten countries took action here yesterday to raise the question of the admission of People's China to the United Nations during the next General Assembly session opening Sept. 21. The ten countries which yesterday officially asked to put the question on the agenda are Albania, Algerian Burundi, Cambodia, Cuba, Congo, Braveville, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Rumania.

AUGUST 30

Rawalpindi: Freedom-fighters stepped up their activities all over Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Sada-e-Kashmir Radio said that during

24 hours Mujahids inflicted heavy casualties on Indian troops. They killed 90 Indian soldiers and wounded 37.

Muzaffarabad: The President of Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, asked India to vacate the forcibly occupied posts and start pulling out of Kashmir before it was too late.

Kabul: Afghan Finance Minister, Syed Kashi Rishtiya welcomed Pakistani capital for Afghanistan's developing new industries. He was expounding Afghan financial and industrial policy during discussion with Pakistani newsmen who had gone to Kabul to attend Jashn.

Peking: The Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note to the Indian Embassy on August 27 strongly protested against Indian acts of aggression in "flagrant disregard of China's sovereignty, disturbing the tranquillity of the Chinese-Sikkim border and menacing the security of the Chinese inhabitants there".

AUGUST 31

Muzaffarabad: Successive Indian attempts to capture Pir Sahaba position in Tithwal sector were completely foiled. The Indians, who attcked Pir Sahaba supported by concentrated artillery and mortar fire, suffered heavy losses.

Washington: The Unit [illegible]
pledge any fund for the first [illegible]
Third Five-Year Plan when [illegible]
meets on Sept. 23. This was st[illegible] of [illegible]
a lengthy report in the 'New Yo[illegible] [illegible]mes' to[illegible]
by its diplomatic correspondent. The report is believed to be partly inspired by the State Department officials to seek reaction at home and abroad.

Washington: Reports that India is deploying American-equipped mountain divisions for its repeated violations of the Kashmir cease-fire line are said to be causing some embarrassment to Washington.

Karachi: Planning experts of the USSR and Pakistan at their first meeting in Karachi yesterday discussed for more than one hour important projects in the Third Five-Year Plan in the context of possible Soviet assistance in the form of financing, equipment and technical know-how, Mr. V.N Yakubeonok, Chief of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR Government, led the Soviet planners delegation, while the Pakistan side was headed by Mr. Said Hasan, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

Algiers: A total of 50 countries—24 African and 26 Asian—and 19 Liberation Movements

the Second Afro-Asian Con-
here on Nov. 5, the Algerian
ek... ...on Africane" said on Saturday.

SEPTEMBER 1

Rawalpindi: To forestall further aggression by Indian troops, Azad Kashmir forces supported by the Pakistan Army, today crossed the cease-fire line, and occupied two Indian posts—Dewa and Chhamb—some seven miles deep in occupied territory. India today threw its Air Force into the Kashmir fighting, using jet fighter bombers, and in the air battle that followed four Indian planes were shot down well behind our lines. No damage was done to any of the Pakistan Air Force planes.

Rawalpindi: President Ayub Khan warned India that her "blatant acts of aggression cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchalleged". Addressing the nation "under the threat of war in Kashmir which is being forced on us by India", the President declared: "in this supreme hour of their trial, the people of Pakistan will rise like one man and give a befitting reply to Indian aggression". President Ayub Khan who was making his First-of-the-Month broadcast to the nation from Radio Pakistan last night regretted that "the patience and restraint which we have imposed on ourselves in the interest of peace in this area has been misunderstood by India".

Solve Kashmir Problem peacefully

"Kashmir will remain a problem so long as the cease-fire line continues to exist in Kashmir and the armed forces of both the countries are posted along it.

India and Pakistan should ultimately solve the Kashmir problem peacefully, instead of resorting to war.

The game of the big powers of the world is to keep India and Pakistan fighting. Their object is to keep both the countries weak."

—Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

Sri Prakash urges early solution of Kashmir

The Indian Government's policy of avoiding to face the realities of life came under the critical review of the veteran Congress leader who urged India to sincerely seek a solution of its disputes with Pakistan, including Kashmir.

In an article published in the Tokyo Magazine "News" of October 18, he wrote: "Time has thus come when India as the elder brother—India as one who must take the responsibility for the creation of Pakistan because of its leaders not appreciating the situation in time, and doing the right thing when there was still an opportunity of doing it—India must take the lead." His article flatly contradicted the Indian leaders' claim, that there is no problem like Kashmir and that Kashmir is an integral part of India.

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"All people concerned with peace have watched with grave anxiety events of recent weeks. The most urgent need has been an end to the war and so public attachment of blame had to take second importance to private efforts to obtain a settlement. The initial failure of the mission of the Secretary-General of the U.N. shows that such efforts are inadequate and that world opinion must be aroused to the true facts."

—Lord Bertrand Russell.